

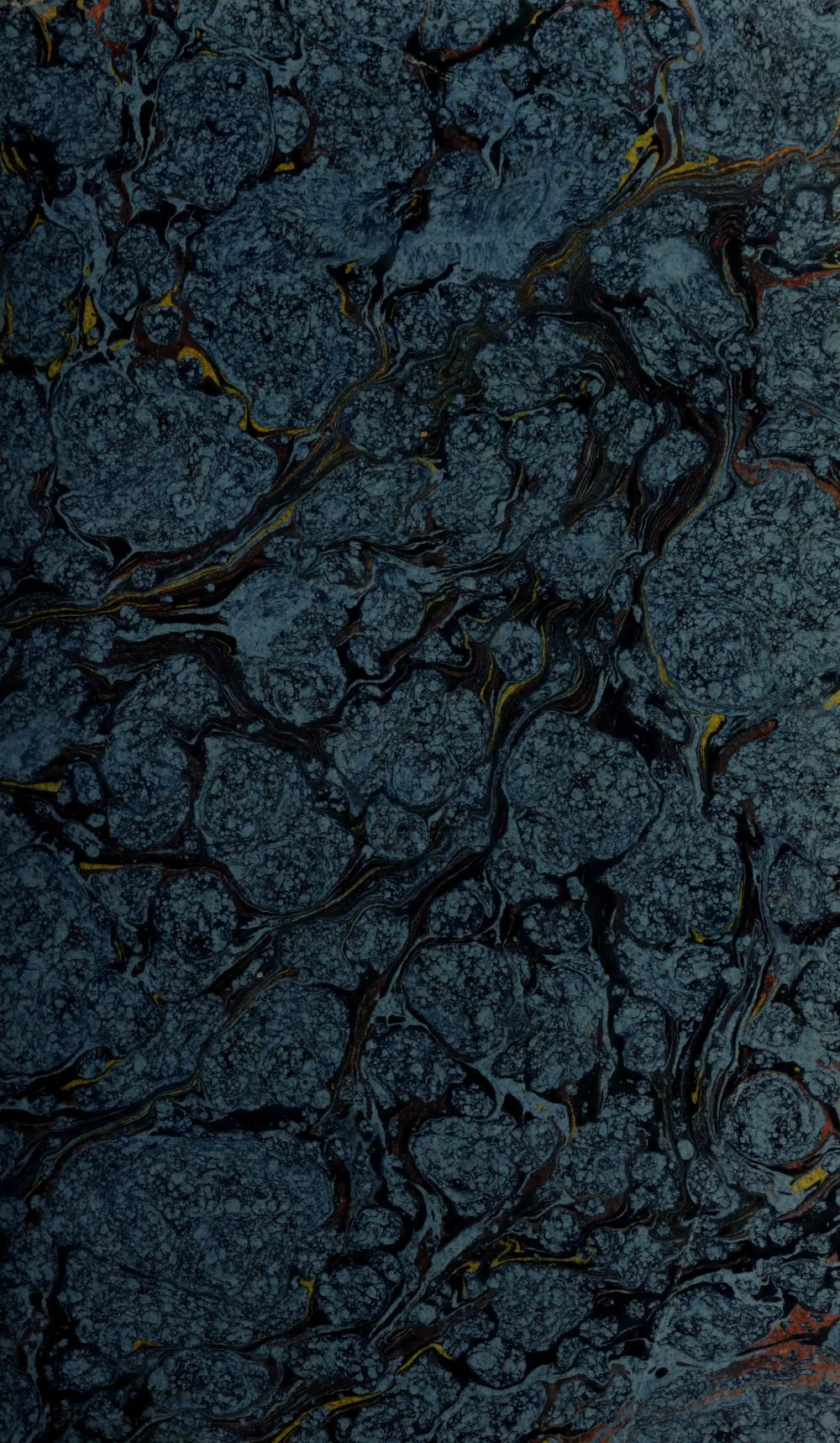






Sherwin.


















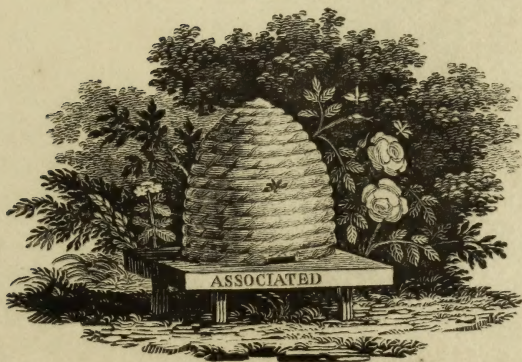


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H U D I B R A S,  
IN THREE PARTS,  
WRITTEN IN  
THE TIME OF THE LATE WARS,  
BY  
*SAMUEL BUTLER, Esq.*  
WITH  
LARGE ANNOTATIONS AND A PREFACE,  
BY  
*ZACHARY GREY, LL.D.*  
IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. II.



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H U D I B R A S.

PART II. CANTO III.



## ARGUMENT.

*The Knight with various doubts possess'd,  
To win the Lady, goes in quest  
Of Sidrophel, the Rosicrucian,  
To know the Dest'nies resolution;  
With whom b'ing met, they both chop logic  
About the science astrologic;  
Till, falling from dispute to fight,  
The conj'rer's worsted by the Knight.*



## PART II. CANTO III.

DOUBTLESS the pleasure is as great  
Of being cheated as to cheat ;

This whole Canto is designed to expose astrologers, fortune-tellers, and conjurers. In banter of whom, Dr. James Young (in his tract entitled *Sidrophel Vapulans*, &c. 1699, p. 35) informs us, " That in the pontificate of some such holy father as Gregory VII. a lover of the black art, one of the tribe, craved of his Holiness a protector or patron saint for astrologers, like as other arts had. The good Pontiff, willing to oblige a faculty he loved well, gave him the choice of all in St. Peter's. The humble servant of Urania, depending upon the direction of good stars to a good angel, went to the choice hoodwinked ; and, groping among the images, the first he laid hold on was that of the Devil in combat with St. Michael. Had he chosen with his eyes open, he could not have met with a better protector for so diabolical an art."

It was a custom in Alexandria, formerly, for astrologers to pay a certain tribute, which they called *fool's pence*, because it was taken from the gains which astrologers made by their own ingenious folly, and credulous dotage of their admirers. (Turkish Spy, vol. viii. book iv. chap. x.) See judicial astrology exposed by Cervantes, Don Quixote, vol. iii. chap. xxv.



- As lookers-on feel most delight,  
 That least perceive a juggler's flight;  
 5 And still the less they understand,  
 The more th' admire his flight of hand.  
 Some with a noise, and greasy light,  
 Are snapp'd, as men catch larks by night,  
 Ensnar'd and hamper'd by the fowl,  
 10 As nooses by the legs catch fowl.  
 Some with a med'cine and receipt  
 Are drawn to nibble at the bait;  
 And though it be a two-foot trout,  
 'Tis with a single hair pull'd out.  
 15 Others believe no voice t' an organ  
 So sweet as lawyer's in his bar-gown;  
 Until with subtle cobweb-cheats,  
 Th' are catch'd in knotted law, like nets;  
 In which, when once they are imbrangled,  
 20 The more they stir, the more they're tangled;

v. 3, 4. *As lookers-on feel most delight,—That least perceive a juggler's flight.*] See the art of juggling expos'd, Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft, book xiii. chap. xxii. to xxxiv. inclusive.

v. 8. *Are snapp'd, as men catch larks by night.*] By the low-bell. See Bailey's Dictionary.

v. 25. *Apply to wizards, &c.*] *Run after*, in the edition of 1664.

v. 27. *And as those vultures do forbode.*] Alluding to the opinion, that vultures repair beforehand to the place where battles will be fought. Of this opinion Pliny seems to be, Nat. Hist. lib. x. cap. vi. See a confutation of it, notes upon Creech's Lucretius, 1714, vol. i. p. 366. These birds of prey have sometimes devoured one another. Vide Chronic. Chronicor. Politic. lib. ii. p. 115.

v. 29, 30. *A flam more senseless than the roguery—Of old aruspicy and aug'ry.*] See Dr. Kennet's Rom. Antiq. part ii. chap. iii. and iv; Chronic. Chronicor. Ecclesiastic. lib. ii. p. 406. See judicial astrology expos'd, Sir J. Maundeville's Voyages and Travels, edit. 1727, p. 199,

And while their purses can dispute,  
There's no end of the immortal suit.

- Others still gape t' anticipate  
The cabinet designs of fate,  
25 Apply to wizards, to foresee  
What shall, and what shall never be.  
And as those vultures do forebode,  
Believe events prove bad or good.  
A flam more senseless than the roguery  
30 Of old aruspicy and aug'ry,  
That out of garbages of cattle  
Presag'd th' events of truce or battle;  
From flight of birds, or chickens pecking,  
Success of great'st attempts would reckon:  
35 Though cheats, yet more intelligible  
Than those that with the stars do fribble.

This Hudibras by proof found true,  
As in due time and place we'll show:

p. 199. 200; in the play entitled *Two Noble Kinsmen*, by Fletcher and Shakespeare, act i. edit. 1634. p. 2, from the best authorities both ancient and modern, by Dr. James Young; *Sidrophel Vapulans*, or *Quack Astrologer* tossed in a Blanket, from p. 20 to 52 inclusive; *Spectator*, No. 105; and augury exposed, *Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft*, chap. i. vi. vii. viii. xvii. xviii. xix. xx.

v. 33, 34. *From flight of birds, or chickens pecking,—Success of great'st attempts would reckon.*] See the opinions of the Romans in this case, Dr. Kennet's *Roman Antiquities*, part ii. chap. iii; and the folly of such as were of this opinion exposed, Ben Jonson's *Masque of Augurs*, vol. i. p. 88; *Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft*, book xi. p. 193, &c.; *Spectator*, No. 7.

v. 35, 36.—*yet more intelligible—Than those that with the stars do fribble.*] Gassendus (see his *vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, p. 106) calls the whole art of astrology a mysterious nothing, a fiction more vain than vanity itself.

For he with beard and face made clean,  
 40 Being mounted on his steed again ;  
 (And Ralpho got a cock-horse too  
 Upon his beast with much ado)  
 Advanc'd on for the widow's house,  
 T' acquit himself, and pay his vows ;  
 45 When various thoughts began to bustle,  
 And with his inward man to juggle,  
 He thought what danger might accrue,  
 If she should find he swore untrue :  
 Or if his Squire or he should fail,  
 50 And not be punctual in their tale,  
 It might at once the ruin prove  
 Both of his honour, faith, and love.  
 But if he should forbear to go,  
 She might conclude h' had broke his vow ;  
 55 And that he durst not now for shame  
 Appear in court, to try his claim.  
 This was the penn'worth of his thought,  
 To pass time, and uneasy trot.  
 Quoth he, In all my past adventures,  
 60 I ne'er was set so on the tenters ;

v. 45, 46. *When various thoughts began to bustle,—And with his inward man to juggle* ] New scruples begin to spring up in the Knight's brain: It is correspondent with his character to be perpetually troubled with cases of conscience; and accordingly the poet has drawn him so from the beginning to the end of the poem. (Mr. B.)

v. 57. *This was the penn'worth of his thought.*] The sum or whole of it.



- Or taken tardy with dilemma,  
That ev'ry way I turn does hem me ;  
And with inextricable doubt,  
Befets my puzzled wits about:  
65 For though the dame has been my bail,  
To free me from enchanted jail,  
Yet as a dog, committed close  
For some offence, by chance breaks loose,  
And quits his clog, but all in vain,  
70 He still draws after him his chain ;  
So, though my ancle she has quitted,  
My heart continues still committed ;  
And like a bail'd and main-priz'd lover,  
Altho' at large, I am bound over :  
75 And when I shall appear in court,  
To plead my cause, and answer for't,  
Unless the judge do partial prove,  
What will be become of me and love ?  
For if in our account we vary,  
80 Or but in circumstance miscarry,  
Or if she put me to strict proof,  
And make me pull my doublet off,

v. 61. *Or taken tardy with dilemma.*] An argument in logic, consisting of two or more propositions, so disposed, that, deny which you will of them, you will be pressed ; and grant which you will of them, the conclusion will involve you in difficulties not easy to be got over.

v. 73. *And like a bail'd and main-priz'd lover.*] Alluding to his being freed from the stocks by his mistress. See *Bail* and *Main-prize*, Jacob's Law Dictionary.

To shew, by evident record,  
 Writ on my skin, I've kept my word,  
 85 How can I e'er expect to have her,  
 Having demurr'd unto her favour?  
 But, faith, and love, and honour lost,  
 Shall be reduc'd t' a knight o' th' post?  
 Beside, that stripping may prevent  
 90 What I'm to prove by argument,  
 And justify I have a tail;  
 And that way too my proof may fail.  
 Oh! that I cou'd enucleate,  
 And solve the problem of my fate;

v. 88. ————— *knight o' th' post.*] One who for hire will swear before a magistrate, or in a court of judicature, whatsoever you would have him. See Bailey's Dictionary, folio edit.

v. 95. *Or find, by necromantic art.*] Necromancy was an art or act of communicating with devils, and doing surprising feats by their assistance, and particularly by calling up the dead. See a remarkable instance in the famous romance of Heliodorus, Bishop of Tricca, Æthiopica. lib. vi. p. 300, &c. edit. Lugduni, 1611.

v. 96. *How far the destinies take my part.*] Of all the scruples and qualms of conscience that have hitherto perplexed our Knight, it must be confessed that these with which he is now assaulted are the most rational and best grounded: His fears are just, and his arguments unanswerable; and the dilemma with which he is encumbered makes him naturally wish that all his doubts were removed by a prognostication of his future fortune. Ralpho, understanding the Knight's mind, takes this opportunity to mention Sidrophel, who from this occasion is happily introduced into the poem. (Mr. B.)

v. 103, 104. ————— *yet 'tis profane,—And sinful, when men swear in vain.*] These wretched hypocrites, though perjury was with them a venial sin when it served their purpose, as appears from the foregoing Canto, and indeed from all the impartial historians of those times, yet, to carry an outward face of religion, they were very punctual in the punishment of profane and common swearing; and, according to Sir Robert Howard (Committee, &c. act. ii. sc. i. p. 53), were more severe in the punishment of swearing

- 95 Or find, by necromantic art,  
 How far the dest'nies take my part;  
 For if I were not more than certain  
 To win and wear her, and her fortune,  
 I'd go no farther in this courtship,  
 100 To hazard foul, estate, and worship;  
 For though an oath obliges not,  
 Where any thing is to be got,  
 (As thou hast prov'd) yet 'tis prophane,  
 And sinful, when men swear in vain.  
 105 Quoth Ralph, Not far from hence doth  
 A cunning man, hight Sidrophel, [dwell

swearing than cursing: for when Teague was punished twelve-pence for an oath, he asked what he should pay for a curse? they said, Sixpence. He then threw down sixpence, and cursed the committee.

v. 106. *A cunning man, hight Sidrophel.*] William Lilly, the famous astrologer of those times, who in his yearly almanacks foretold victories for the parliament with as much certainty as the preachers did in their sermons; and all or most part of what is ascribed to him, either by Ralpho or the poet, the reader will find verified in his letter (if we may believe it) wrote by himself to Elias Ashmole, Esq. and printed a few years ago for E. Curl, J. Pemberton, and W. Taylor, bookfellers in London. In this letter, or history of his own life, we find an account of several of his predictions (such as happened to hit right, not such as failed) and what encouragement he had from the parliament and others. But when he found that the authority of parliament began to sink, and the power of the army to increase, he was as ready to predict against the parliament as before he was for it, though he began to do so almost too soon for his own security: for he tells us (p. 69), that, in they ear 1650, he wrote, "that the parliament (meaning the Rump) stood upon a tottering foundation, and that the commonalty and soldiery would join against them." For this he was taken up by a messenger, carried before a committee of parliament, and shewed the words of his almanack. But having notice beforehand of what was intended against him, he had got that leaf new printed, and those obnoxious words left out. So he denied the almanack to be his, and pulled half a dozen out of



That deals in destiny's dark counsels,  
 And sage opinions of the moon fells;  
 To whom all people, far and near,  
 110 On deep importances repair;  
 When brass and pewter hap to stray,  
 And linen flinks out of the way;  
 When geese and pullen are seduc'd,  
 And fows of sucking pigs are chous'd;  
 115 When cattle feel indisposition,

his pocket which were without that passage, and said, this was a spurious impression, in which some enemies had put in those words, in order to ruin him: (Life, p. 70.) In which he was seconded by a friend in the committee, who enlarged upon the great services he had done the parliament: (Life, p. 71.) Notwithstanding which, he was kept a prisoner in the messenger's hand near a fortnight, and then released. What he had said of the Rump was at the instance of some of Cromwell's party. He lived to the year 1681, being then near eighty years of age, and published predicting almanacks to his death. He was succeeded by Henry Coley (a tailor by trade) his amanuensis (see Life, p. 109); and after him came John Partridge, who, something more than thirty years ago, was so exposed and ridiculed, for his predictions, by Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. (see Tatler, No. 1, 39, 118, 124, 216.) I know of no one since that has published prophetic almanacks. (Dr. B.) See a remarkable account of Lilly in Mr. Hearne's Life of Mr. Anthony Wood, p. 505, 506, 507.

v. 111, 112. *When brass and pewter hap to stray,—And linen flinks out of the way.*] Sir John Birkenhead banters Lilly upon this head (Paul's Church-yard, cent. 1. class. 1. f. 12.) "*Paucirollæ Medela, a way to find things lost, by W. Lilly; with a Clavis to his Book, or the Art of his Art, by Mrs. Mary Frith.*"

This was an old pretence, made mention of by Wierus (*De Præstigiis Dæmonum*, lib. vi. cap. ii.) "*Plerique insuper magi Pythonis spiritu inflati, artem divinandi profitentur, et res perditas quis suffuratus fuerit, aut ubi eæ reconditæ sint, et alia abdita, vel etiam ancipitia, se manifestare posse jactant.*" And Mr. Scot mentions some of the charms made use of to find out a thief (*Discovery of Witchcraft*, book xii. chap. xvii. p. 260, 261, 262).

But the most whimsical is the charm of Sir John, or the priest, to discover the persons who stole the miller's eels, in which the priest was a party concerned.

He

And need th' opinion of physician ;  
 When murrain reigns in hogs or sheep,  
 And chickens languish of the pip ;  
 When yest and outward means do fail,  
 120 And have no power to work on ale ;  
 When butter does refuse to come,  
 And love proves cross and humourfome ;  
 To him with questions and with urine,  
 They for discov'ry flock, or curing.

He went into the pulpit, and with his surplice on his back, and his stole about his neck, he pronounced these words (see book xii. p. 265) :

“ All you that have stolen the miller's eels,  
 Laudate Dominum de cœlis ;  
 And all they [we] that have consented thereto,  
 Benedicamus Domino.”

v. 121. *When butter does refuse to come.*] “ When a country wench (says Mr. Selden, *Table-Talk*, p. 120) cannot get her butter to come, she says the witch is in the churn.” This is bantered by Mr. Cotton (*Virgil Travestie*, book iv. p. 117) :

“ She call'd to wash, and do you think  
 The water turn'd as black as ink,  
 And that by chance being churning day,  
 Her cream most strangely turn'd to whey.  
 This Dido saw, but would by no means  
 Tell her own sister of the omens.”

See *Spectator*, No. 117.

Mr. Scot (see *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book xii.) observes farther, “ That when the country people see that butter cometh not, then get they out of the suspected witch's house a little butter, whereof must be made three balls, in the name of the Holy Trinity ; and so if they be put into the churn, the butter will presently come, and the witchcraft will cease—but if you put a little sugar and soap into the churn among the cream, the butter will never come.”

Mr. Webster (see *Display of Witchcraft*, book xii. chap. xxi. p. 281) assigns natural causes for its not coming, with the methods to make it come.

v. 122, 123. *And love proves cross and humourfome ;—To him with questions and with urine.*] This is hinted at by Sir Robert Howard (*Committee-man*, act. i. p. 19). Ruth tells Arabella the heiress (whom

- 125 Quoth Hudibras, This Sidrophel  
 I've heard of, and should like it well,  
 If thou canst prove the saints have freedom  
 To go to forc'ers when they need 'em.  
 Says Ralpho, There's no doubt of that;  
 130 Those principles I quoted late  
 Prove that the godly may alledge  
 For any thing their privilege;  
 And to the dev'l himself may go,  
 If they have motives thereunto.

(whom Mr. Day the committee-man had got into his custody),  
 "That Mr. and Mrs. Day had sent to Lilly, and his learning being built upon what people would have him say, he was told for certain, that Abel their son must have a rich heiress, and that must be you."

And Lilly confesses (*History of his Life and Times*, p. 95),  
 "That many people of the poorer sort frequented his lodging, many whereof were so civil, that, when they brought waters, viz. urines, from infected people (in 1665), they would stand at a distance."

v. 127, 128. *If thou canst prove the saints have freedom,—To go to forc'ers when they need 'em.*] See Don Quixote's scruple in this respect, vol. iii. chap. xxv. This question is argued in a book entitled *De Veneficis, per Lambertum Danæum, anno 1574, cap. vi.* "Utrum liceat homini Christiano fortiorum operâ et auxilio in morbo aliisque rebus uti?" who determines, p. 120, in the negative: "Quamobrem hoc sit tandem conclusum et effectum ex superioribus, neque debere neque oportere fortiorum operâ uti, nisi et ipsi in eorum numero esse velimus"

Constantine the Great seems to be more favourable in his opinion in the following law:

"Nullis vero criminationibus implicanda sunt remedia humanis quesita corporibus, aut in agrestibus locis innocenter adhibita suffragia. ne maturis vindemiis metuerentur imbres, aut ventis, grandinisque lapidatione quaterentur: quibus non cujusquam salus et æstimatio lederetur: sed quorum proficerent actus, ne divina munera et labores hominum sternerentur." *Cod. Justinian. lib. ix. tit. xviii. f. iv.*

Sir John Berkenhead (*Paul's Church-yard*, cent. ii. class. ix. sect. clxxix.) puts this query, "Whether the reformers of this  
 time



135 For, as there is a war between  
 The dev'l and them, it is no sin  
 If they, by subtle stratagem,  
 Make use of him, as he does them.  
 Has not this present parliament  
 240 A leger to the devil sent,  
 Fully empower'd to treat about  
 Finding revolted witches out?  
 And has not he, within a year,  
 Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire?

time may safely trade in magic? because Luther and Dr. Faustus taught both in the same town."

And Lilly, when he and Booker had an audience of Sir Thomas Fairfax, observed, "That he hoped the art was lawful, and agreeable to God's word." (Life, p. 57, and General Historical Dictionary, vol. vii. p. 83. See Spectator, No. 46.)

v. 139, 140. *Has not this present parliament—A leger to the devil sent?*] Leger ambassadors were not more ancient than the year 1500, as Mr. Antis observes from Grotius (Register of the Garter, part i. p. 394).

v. 143, 144. *And has not he, within a year,—Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire?*] Hopkins, the noted witch-finder for the associated counties, hanged threescore suspected witches in one year in the county of Suffolk. See Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay on Witchcraft, p. 37, 38.

Dr. Meric Casaubon, in his preface to Dr. Dee's Book of Spirits, observes, That nine hundred men and women suffered in Lorraine for witchcraft in the compass of a few years; and Ludovicus Paramo, that the inquisition, within the space of one hundred and fifty years, had burnt thirty thousand witches. Baker's History of the Inquisition, p. 186.

But our enthusiasts much exceeded both. Mr. Ady says, that in Scotland some thousands were burnt in those times (Dr. Hutchinson, p. 38). I have somewhere seen an account of betwixt three and four thousand that suffered in the King's dominions from the year 1640 to the King's restoration. See a remarkable incident of this kind in Bretagne, a province of France, Turkish Spy, vol. iv. book iv. letter ix.

- 145 Some only for not being drown'd,  
 And some for sitting above ground,  
 Whole days and nights upon their breeches,  
 And, feeling pain, were hang'd for witches,  
 And some for putting knavish tricks  
 150 Upon green geese and turkey chicks,  
 Or pigs that suddenly deceas'd  
 Of griefs unnat'ral, as he guess'd ;

v. 145. *Some only for not being drown'd.*] This was another method of trial, by water ordeal, of which Mr. Scot observes from divers writers (book xiii. chap. ix. p. 303), "That a woman above the age of fifty years, being bound hand and foot, her cloaths being upon her, and being laid down softly in the water, sinketh not in a long time, some say not at all." Dr. Hutchinson somewhere observes, that not one in ten can sink in this position of their bodies; and, p. 55, "That we can no more convict a witch upon the tricks of swimming, scratching, touching, or any other such experiments, than we may convict a thief upon the trial of the sieve and sheers."

v. 146, 147, 148. *And some for sitting above ground,—Whole days and nights, upon their breeches,—And feeling pain, were hang'd for witches.*] Alluding to one of the methods of trial made use of in those days, mentioned by Dr. Hutchinson (*Historical Essay*, p. 63). "Do but imagine (says he) a poor creature, under all the weakness and infirmities of old age, set like a fool in the middle of a room, with the rabble of ten towns round about her house; then her legs tied cross, that all the weight of her body might rest upon her seat: by that means, after some hours that the circulation of the blood would be much stopped, her sitting would be as painful as the wooden horse. Then she must continue in her pain four and twenty hours without either sleep or meat. And since this was their ungodly way of trial, what wonder was it, if, when they were weary of their lives, they confessed many tales that would please them, and sometimes they knew not what?" (See some remarkable methods of trial from Mr. Whitelock's *Memorials*; *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's* 4th vol. of the *History of the Puritans*, p. 97, 98, 99, 100; and in *Reginald Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft*, book ii. chap. xii. p. 37, &c. published in 1584.)

Who after prov'd himself a witch,  
 And made a rod for his own breech,  
 155 Did not the devil appear to Martin  
 Luther in Germany, for certain ?  
 And wou'd have gull'd him with a trick,  
 But Mart. was too too politic.  
 Did he not help the Dutch to purge  
 160 At Antwerp their cathedral church ?

v. 153, 154. *Who after prov'd himself a witch,—And made a rod for his own breech.*] “These two verses (says Dr. Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, p. 65) relate to that which I have often heard, that Hopkins went on searching and swimming the poor creatures, till some gentlemen, out of indignation at the barbarity, took him and tied his own thumbs and toes, as he used to tie others; and when he was put into the water, he himself swam as they did. This cleared the country of him; and it was a great deal of pity that they did not think of the experiment sooner.”

v. 155, 156. *Did not the devil appear to Martin—Luther in Germany, for certain ?*] Luther, in his *Mensalia*, speaks of the devil's appearing to him frequently, and how he used to drive him away by scoffing and jeering him; for he observes, that the devil, being a proud spirit, cannot bear to be contemned and scoffed: “I often (says he, p. 381) said to him, Devil, I have bewrayed my breeches, canst thou smell that?” (Dr. B.)

And yet some Popish writers (see *Epistle to the Reader*, prefixed to the Translation of Henry Stephens's *Apology for Herodotus*, 1607, p. 3, from Cochlæus, Siaphylus, &c.) affirm, that Luther was begot by an incubus, and strangled by the devil. (Vide etiam Wolfii *Lectio. Memorab. anno 1550, Par. Post. p. 593.*)

Mr. Oldham alludes to this aspersión (*Third Satire against the Jesuits*)

“Make Luther monster, by a fiend begot,  
 With wings, and tail, and cloven foot.”

v. 159. *Did he not help the Dutch, &c.*] \* In the beginning of the civil wars of Flanders, the common people of Antwerp in a tumult broke open the cathedral church, to demolish images and shrines; and did so much mischief in a small time, that Strada writes, there were several devils seen very busy among them, otherwise it had been impossible. *Strad. de Bello Belgico, dec. i. lib. i. p. 154. edit. Romæ, 1640.*



- Sing catches to the saints at Mascon,  
 And tell them all they came to ask him?  
 Appear in divers shapes to Kelly,  
 And speak i' th' nun of Loudon's belly?  
 165 Meet with the Parliament's committee,  
 At Woodstock on a pers'nal treaty?

v. 161. *Sing catches to the saints at Mascon.*] \* This devil delivered his oracles in verse, which he sung to tunes, and made several lampoons upon the Huguenots.

There was a treatise called *The Devil of Mascon*, or the true relation of the chief things which an unclean spirit said at Mascon in Burgundy, in the house of Mr. Francis Perreaud, minister of the reformed church in the said town: written by the said Perreaud soon after the apparition, which was in the year 1612, but not published till the year 1653, forty-one years after the thing was said to be done; translated by Dr. Peter de Moulin, at the request of Mr. Boyle. (See Webster's *Display of supposed Witchcraft*, chap. xvi. p. 293.)

v. 163. *Appear in divers, &c.*] \* The history of Dr. Dee and the devil, published by Mer. Casaubon, Isaac Fil. prebendary of Canterbury, has a large account of all those passages, in which the style of the true and false angels appears to be penned by one and the same person.

v. 164. *And speak i' th' nun of Loudon's belly.*] The nun of Loudon in France, and all her tricks, have been seen by many persons of quality of this nation yet living, who have made very good observations upon the French book written upon that occasion. Vide *Histoire de Diable de Loudun, ou de la Possession de Religieuses Ursulines, et de la Condemnation et du Suplice D'Urbain Grandiere Cure de la meme Ville*: Astrol. et Mag. 8vo. No. 14137. Catal. Bibliothecæ Harleian. vol. ii. Vide No. 14300.

v. 165, 166. *Meet with the parliament's committee—At Woodstock—*] \* A committee of the long parliament, sitting in the King's house in Woodstock park, were terrified with several apparitions, the particulars whereof were then the news of the whole nation. See the narrative at large, Dr. Plot's *Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire*, p. 214, &c.

v. 167. *At Sarum, &c.*] \* Withers has a long story, in doggerel, of a soldier of the king's army, who being a prisoner at Salisbury, and drinking a health to the devil upon his knees, was carried away by him through a single pane of glass.

At Sarum take a cavalier  
 I' th' cause's service prisoner;  
 As Withers in immortal rhyme  
 170 Has register'd to after time?  
 Do not our great reformers use  
 This Sidrophel to forebode news;

v. 169. *As Withers in immortal rhyme, &c.*] This Withers was a Puritanical officer in the parliament army, and a great pretender to poetry, as appears from his poems enumerated by A. Wood, (Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. cclxxiv, &c. 1st. edit.) but so bad a poet, that, when he was taken prisoner by the cavaliers, Sir John Denham the poet (some of whose lands, at Egham in Surry, Withers had got into his clutches) desired his Majesty not to hang him; because, so long as Withers lived, Denham would not be accounted the worst poet in England. Wood, *ibid.* col. cclxxiv. Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 694.

v. 171, 172. *Do not our great reformers use—This Sidrophel to forebode news?*] Hear, O reader, one of these great reformers thus canting forth the services of Lilly: "You do not know the many services this man hath done for the parliament these many years, or how many times, in our greatest distresses, we applying unto him, he hath refreshed our languishing expectations; he never failed us of a comfort in our most unhappy distresses. I assure you, his writings have kept up the spirits of both the soldiery, the honest people of this nation, and many of us parliament-men." (See Lilly's Life, p. 71.) (Mr. B.)

Lilly was one of the close committee to consult about the King's execution (See Mr. Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 641); and for pay foretold things in favour of all parties, as has been before observed; the truth of which is confirmed from the following passage in a letter of intelligence to Secretary Thurloe from Bruges, Sept. 29, 1656, (Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. v. p. 431): "Lilly, that rogue, who lives by Strand bridge, hath sent a letter unto Sir Edward Walker, who is one of his Majesty's secretaries, who is also an astrologer, to wish them to have a good heart and be courageous. He was confident, and foresaw by art, that the King and his adherents would be restored in the year 57 to the throne and kingdom of England; and hereupon they depend much: because such a prophet saith it, who hath rightly prophesied of the former king's death, so he must needs have an infallible prophecy of this man's restoration."

To write of victories next year,  
 And castles taken yet i' th' air?  
 175 Of battles fought at sea, and ships  
 Sunk two years hence, the last eclipse?  
 A total overthrow giv'n the King  
 In Cornwall, horse and foot, next spring?

v. 173. *To write of victories next year.*] Mr. Butler (Memoirs of the years 1649-50, Remains) has exposed his ignorance in the following words: "O (says he) the infallibility of Erra-Pater Lilly! The wizard perhaps may do much at hot cockles and blind-man's buff; but I durst undertake to poze him in a riddle, and his intelligence in a dog and a wheel: an overturned salt is a surer prophet, the sieve and sheers are oracles to him: a whining pig fees further into a storm; rats will prognosticate the ruin of a kingdom with more certainty; and as for palmistry, a gipsy, or a DERRIC (see the word D. E. R. I. C. explained, Gruteri Fax Art. tom. i. cap. iii. p. 322) may be his tutor; the wittal is cuckolded over and over, and yet the Oedipus is blind; like the old witch who, being consulted to discover a thief, could not discover who had sh—t at her own door. Indeed he is excellent at foretelling things past, and calculates the deputy's nativity after he is beheaded; and, by starting a prophecy, he excites the credulous vulgar to fulfil it; Thus can he antedate Cromwell's malice, depose the King five years beforehand, and instruct Ralph how to be damned. Impious villain! to make the spheres like the associated counties, and the heavenly houses so many lower houses, fix a guilt upon the stars, and persuade the planets were rebels, as if it were a sequestration star, or any constellation looked like a committee." His reputation was lost upon the false prognostic on the eclipse that was to happen on the 29th of March 1652, commonly called Black Monday; in which his predictions not being fully answered, Mr. Heath observes (Chronicle, p. 210) "that he was regarded no more for the future than one of his own worthless almanacks." Dr. Young (Sidrophel Vapulans) makes the following remark upon him: I have (says he) read all Lilly's almanacks, from forty to sixty, in the holy time of that great rebellion to which he was accessory, and find him always the whole breadth of heaven wide from the truth; scarce one of his predictions verified, but a thousand contrarywise: it is hard that a man shooting at rovers so many years together should never hit the right mark." See Sir Edward



And has not he point-blank foretold  
 180 Whats'e'er the close committee would?  
 Made Mars and Saturn for the cause,  
 The moon for fundamental laws:  
 The ram, the bull, and goat declare  
 Against the book of common-prayer?

Edward Walker's Historical Collections, published 1707, page 227, &c.

v. 174. *And castles taken yet i' th' air ?*] A sneer, probably, upon the report published in 1642, in a tract entitled *A great Wonder in Heaven, shewing the late apparitions and prodigious noises of war and battles seen at Edge-hill, near Keinton in Northamptonshire, certified under the hands of William Wood, Esq. justice of the peace in the said county, Samuel Marthal, preacher of God's word at Keinton, and other persons of quality; London, printed for Thomas Jackson, Jan. 23, Anno Dom. 1642, penes me.*

In the 36th year of the reign of Edward III. Ralph Higden says (see *Polychronicon* translated by Treviza, lib. ult. cap. i. fol. 317. b.) there appeared both in England and France, and many other places, two castles in the air, out of which issued two hosts of armed men, the one clothed in white, the other in black.

v. 179, 180. *And has not he point-blank foretold—Whats'e'er the close committee would?*] The parliament took a sure way to secure all prophecies, prodigies, and almanac-news from stars, &c. in favour of their own side, by appointing a licenser thereof, and strictly forbidding and punishing all such as were not licensed. Their man for this purpose was the famous Booker, an astrologer, fortune-teller, almanac-maker, &c. See v. 1093 of this Canto, and the note thereon; see also note upon Part vi. Canto ii. v. 650. The words of his licence in Rushorth, are very remarkable: For mathematics, almanacs, and prognostications. If we may believe Lilly, both he and Booker did conjure and prognosticate well for their friends the parliament. He tells us, "When he applied for a licence for his *Merlinus Anglicus Junior* (in April 1644), Booker wondered at the book, made many impertinent obliterations, framed many objections, and swore it was not possible to distinguish between a king and a parliament, and at last licensed it according to his own fancy. Lilly delivered it to the printer, who being an arch Presbyterian, had five of the ministers to inspect it, who could make nothing of it, but

- 185 The scorpion take the protestation,  
 And bear engage for reformation?  
 Made all the royal stars recant,  
 Compound, and take the covenant?  
 Quoth Hudibras, The case is clear,  
 190 The saints may 'mploy a conjurer,  
 As thou hast prov'd it by their practice;  
 No argument like matter of fact is.  
 And we are best of all led to  
 Men's principles, by what they do.  
 195 Then let us strait advance in quest  
 Of this profound gymnosophist;  
 And as the fates and he advise,  
 Pursue or wave this enterprife.

but said it might be printed; for in that he meddled not with their Dagon:" (Lilly's Life, p. 44) which opposition to Lilly's book arose from a jealousy, that he was not then thoroughly in the parliament's interest: which was true; for he frankly confesses, "that, till the year 1645, he was more Cavalier than Roundhead, and so taken notice of; but after that, he engaged body and soul in the cause of the parliament." (Life, p. 45.) Afterwards we find (among other curious particulars) that when there was a difference between the army and parliament, he and Booker were carried in a coach with four horses to Windsor (where the army's head quarters then were), were feasted in a garden, where General Fairfax lodged, who bid them kindly welcome, and entered into a conference with them: (Life, p. 57.) That when Colchester was besieged, Booker and himself were sent for, where they encouraged the soldiers, assuring them (by figures) that the town would shortly surrender; that they were well entertained at the head quarters two days. (Life, p. 67, 68.) That in Oliver's protectorship, all the soldiers were friends to Lilly; and the day of one of their fights in Scotland, a soldier stood up with his Anglicus in his hand, and as the troops passed by him, read that month's prediction aloud, saying, "Lo! hear what Lilly saith, you are in this month promised victory; fight it out, brave boys." (Lilly's Life, p. 83.) (Mr. B.)

This said, he turn'd about his steed,  
 200 And eftsoons on th' adventure rid;  
 Where leave we him and Ralph a while,  
 And to the conjurer turn our style,  
 To let our reader understand  
 What's useful of him before hand.  
 205 He had been long t'wards mathematics,  
 Optics, philosophy, and statics,  
 Magic, horoscopy, astrology,  
 And was old dog at physiology;  
 But as a dog that turns the spit,  
 210 Bestirs himself, and plies his feet,

v. 181, 187. *Made Mars, &c — Made all the royal stars recant.*] The hidden satire of this is extremely fine: By the several planets and signs here recapitulated, are meant the several leaders of the parliament army who took the covenant; as Essex and Fairfax, by Mars and Saturn. But the last, *made all the royal stars recant*, &c. evidently alludes to Charles, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and King Charles II. who both took the covenant. (Mr. W.)

v. 196. — *gymnosophist.*] Vid. Jo. & Fra. Pici Mirandulæ op. passim. Chambers's Cyclopædia; and their method of educating their disciples, Spectator, No. 337.

v. 205. *He had been long t'wards mathematics.*] See J. Taylor's poem, entitled, A Figure-flinger, or Couzening cunning Man, Works, p. 12; Gruteri Fax Art. tom. vi. par. ii. p. 536, 537.

v. 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214. *But, as a dog that turns the spit,—Bestirs himself, and plies his feet,—To climb the wheel, but all in vain,—His own weight brings him down again,—And still he's in the self-same place—Where at his setting out he was.*] Mr. Prior's imitation of this simile is very beautiful, and I think it an improvement of it.

“ Dear Thomas, didst thou never pop  
 Thy head into a tinman's shop?



- To climb the wheel, but all in vain,  
 His own weight brings him down again,  
 And still he's in the self-same place  
 Where at his setting out he was ;
- 215 So in the circle of the arts,  
 Did he advance his nat'ral parts,  
 Till falling back still, for retreat,  
 He fell to juggle, cant, and cheat ;  
 For as those fowls that live in water
- 220 Are never wet, he did but smatter ;  
 Whate'er he labour'd to appear,  
 His understanding still was clear ;

There, Thomas, didst thou never see,  
 ('Tis but by way of simile)  
 A squirrel spend his little rage  
 In jumping round a rolling cage ?  
 The cage at either side turns up,  
 Striking a ring of bells a-top ;  
 Mov'd in the orb, pleas'd with the chimes,  
 The foolish creature thinks he climbs :  
 But here or there, turn wood or wire,  
 He never gets two inches higher."

(Mr. B.)

v. 224. *Since old Hodge Bacon, &c.*] \* Roger Bacon, commonly called Friar Bacon, lived in the reign of our Edward I. and, for some little skill he had in the mathematics, was by the rabble accounted a conjurer, and had the sottish story of the brazen head fathered upon him by the ignorant monks of those days.

Ib. ——— and *Bob Grosted*.] Bishop Grosted was bishop of Lincoln, 20 Henry III. A. D. 1235. "He was suspected by the clergy to be a conjurer: for which crime (the printed notes observe) he was deprived by Pope Innocent IV. and summoned to appear at Rome." But this is a mistake: For the Pope's antipathy to him was occasioned by his frankly expostulating with him (both personally and by letter) on his encroachments upon the English church and monarchy. He was persecuted by Pope Innocent, but it is not certain that he was deprived, though Bale thinks he was. The Pope was inclined to have had his body dug up,

Yet none a deeper knowledge boasted,  
 Since old Hodge Bacon, and Bob Grosted.  
 225 Th' intelligible world he knew,  
 And all men dream on't to be true :  
 That in this world there's not a wart  
 That has not there a counterpart ;  
 Nor can there on the face of ground  
 230 An individual beard be found,  
 That has not in that foreign nation,  
 A fellow of the self-same fashion ;  
 So cut, so colour'd, and so curl'd,  
 As those are in th' inferior world,

up, but was dissuaded from it. He was a man of great learning, considering the time in which he lived, and wrote books to the number of almost two hundred. (See Bishop Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops, edit. 1615, p. 298, &c. Fabian's Chronicle, part ii. folio 25.) He suppressed an idle practice in that church, of keeping the feast of fools, (which was likewise suppressed in the college of Beverley in the year 1391. See Mr. Anstis's Register of the Garter, vol. i. p. 309.) "Quapropter vobis mandamus, in virtute obedientiæ firmiter injungentes: quatenus festum stultorum, cum sit vanitate plenum, et voluptatibus spurcum, Deo odibile, et dæmonibus amabile, de cætero in ecclesiâ Lincoln. Die venerandæ solennitatis circumcisionis Domini, nullatenus permittatis fieri." Vide Opuscul. Ro. Grossetest. Append. Fascicul. Rer. expetendar. et fugiendar. epist. xxxii. p. 331. This feast was continued in France till about the year 1444. See an account of it, Mezeray's History of France, translated by Bulteel, p. 293.

v. 225. *Th' intelligible world he knew.*] See Norris's Ideal World.

v. 233. *So cut, so colour'd, &c.*] Dr. Bulwer observes from Strabo (Artificial Changeling, sc. xii. p. 212), "That in Cathea the men for an ornament dye their beards with many and diverse colours, and many of the Indians do it; for the region bears admirable colours for the tincture of their hairs." See more, p. 213, 214.

235 H' had read Dee's prefaces before  
 The Dev'l, and Euclid, o'er and o'er,  
 And all the intrigues 'twixt him and Kelly,

v. 235, 236. *H' had read Dee's prefaces before—The Devil and Euclid o'er and o'er.*] Dee was a Welchman, and educated at Oxford, where he commenced doctor, and afterwards travelled into foreign parts, in quest of chemistry, &c. Lilly saith, that he was Queen Elizabeth's intelligencer, and had a salary for his maintenance from the secretaries of state: That he was the most ambitious man living; and was never so well pleased as when he heard himself styled most Excellent.

In 1659 was printed in folio, *A Relation of what passed for many years between Dr. John Dee and some Spirits.* It begins May 28, 1583, and ends September 7, 1607. It was published by Meric Casaubon, D. D. with a learned preface, in which we have the following account.

Dr. Dee, when young, was sought unto by two Emperors, Charles, and Ferdinand his brother and successor, as he saith in his letter to the Emperor Rodolph. Mr. Camden in 1572 calls him *Nobilis Mathematicus*. He dedicated his *Monas Hieroglyphica* to Maximilian, Ferdinand's successor, in 1564. In 1595 he wrote an apology for himself to the then Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), in which he gives a catalogue of his works, in number 50 or 51, unprinted; among which is *Apologia pro fratre Rogero Fachone Anglo*, in quâ docetur nihil illum per dæmoniorum fecisse auxilia; and eight printed ones, three of which are probably alluded to by Mr. Butler, in the word *prefaces*, *Epistola præfixa ephimeridi Johannis Felde*, 1557; *Epistola ad Commandinum*, præfixa libello Mahometi de superficierum divisionibus, 1570; and his mathematical preface to *Euclid* 1570. At the end of his apology is a testimonial from the university of Cambridge, dated 14. Cal. April 1548, whereby it appears, that he was *M. A. et quod plurimam sibi et doctrinæ et honestatis laudem comparavit.*

Above thirty years after that, his (pretended) commerce with angels began, the account of which was all wrote with his own hand, and communicated by Sir Thomas Cotton. He had a round stone like a crystal brought him (as he said) by angels, in which others saw apparitions, and from whence they heard voices, which he carefully wrote down from their mouths. He names at least twenty spirits: Gabriel, Raphael, Michael, and Uriel are known names of good angels; the rest are too fantastical to be mentioned, particularly such as Ash, Il, Po, Va, &c. What kind all these were of, if they were any thing more than fancy, is plain, from a  
 revelation



Lefcus and th' Emperor, would tell ye:  
 But with the moon was more familiar  
 240 Than e'er was almanac well-willer;

revelation of theirs, April 18, 1587, enjoining community of wives to Dee and Kelly, which injunction they most conscientiously obeyed.

He was so confident as to address himself to Queen Elisabeth and her council often, and to King James and his, to the Emperor Rodolph, Stephen King of Poland, and several other Princes; and to the Spanish ambassador in Germany. He had thoughts of going to the Pope, had he not been banished Germany, as he thought at the instance of the Nuncio, who seems to deny it in a letter of his to Dr. Dee, which may be worth reading.

Dee's chief seer was Edward Kelly, from whose reports the shapes and words of the apparitions were wrote.

Alasco Palatine of Poland, Pucci a learned Florentine, and Prince Rosemburg of Germany, the Emperor's Viceroy of Bohemia, were long of the society, and often present at their actions, as was once the King of Poland himself. After Kelly's death, in 1587, Arthur Dee was admitted to be a seer, and reported to his father what he saw in the stone, but heard nothing from it. In 1607, one Bartholomew Hickman was operator, and both saw and heard. In that year Dee foretells what was become of stolen goods. There is no account when or how he died. (Mr. S.W.)

In Dee's account of himself (see Johan. Glastonienf. Chronic. 1726, a Tho. Hearne, appendix, p. 504) he says, he was offered two hundred French crowns yearly to be one of the French King's mathematicians; that he might have served five Christian Emperors, namely, Charles V. Ferdinand, Maximilian, Rodolph, and the then Emperor of Muscovy; each of them offering him a stipend, from five hundred dollars yearly, to one thousand, two thousand, three thousand; and that his Russian Majesty offered him two thousand pounds Sterling yearly stipend, with a thousand rubles from his Protector, and his diet out of his own kitchen; and he to be in dignity and authority amongst the highest sort of nobility and privy counsellors. (See more, *ibid.* from p. 490 to 556, inclusive)

v. 238. *Lefcus.*] Albertus Lefcus, Lasky, or Alasco, Prince Palatine of Poland, concerned with Dee and Kelly. See Casaubon's Preface, and Dee's Book of Spirits; and Append. Johan. Glastonienf. Chron. p. 510.

v. 239. *But with the moon was more familiar.*] As great a pretender it is plain he was, from what has been before observed,

- Her secrets understood so clear,  
 That some believ'd he had been there;  
 Knew when she was in fittest mood  
 For cutting corns, or letting blood;  
 245 When for anointing scabs or itches,  
 Or to the bum applying leeches;  
 When fows and bitches may be spay'd,  
 And in what sign best cyder's made;  
 Whether the wane be or increase  
 250 Best to set garlic, or sow pease:

as old Foresight (See Congreve's *Love for Love*, act ii. sc. v), who, speaking to Sir Sampson Legend of his great knowledge in this way, says, "I tell you, that I have travelled and travelled in the celestial spheres, know the signs and the planets, and their houses; can judge of motions direct and retrograde, of sextiles, quadrates, trines, and oppositions, fiery trigons, and aquatical trigons; know whether life shall be long or short, happy or unhappy; whether diseases are curable or incurable; if journeys shall be prosperous, and undertakings successful, or goods stolen recovered: I know——"

v. 240. *Than e'er was almanac well-willer.*] See the term in Cleveland's *Character of a London Diurnal*, Works, 1677, p. 103.

Had the Precisians of those times known that the church of Rome had taken the almanac into the number of her saints, they would never have suffered Booker to have been a licenser of almanacs (as he was, see Note on v. 179, 180), or Lilly, their famed astrologer, and almanac well-willer, to have published any thing under that title.

The learned Mr. Henry Wharton, in his preface to this tract, entitled, *The Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome demonstrated*, in some *Observations upon the Life of Ignatius Loyola*, London, 1688, gives the following account:

"The church of Rome (saith he) hath taken the almanac into the number of the saints, and canonised it under the name of St. Almachius, solemnizeth its memory on the first day of January, and giveth to it an illustrious character in the martyrology. This probably proceeded from the mistake of some ignorant monk, about the seventh or eighth age, who, finding the word S. Almanacum (*Sanctum Almanacum*) written in the front of  
 the

Who first found out the man i' th' moon,  
 That to the ancients was unknown;  
 How many dukes, and earls, and peers,  
 Are in the planetary spheres;  
 255 Their airy empire, and command,  
 Their sev'ral strengths by sea and land;  
 What factionsth' have, and what they drive at  
 In public vogue, or what in private;  
 With what designs and interests  
 260 Each party manages contests.

the calendar, and not knowing what to make of that barbarous term, with which he was before unacquainted, imagined it to be some ancient obscure saint, who took up the first place in the calendar. Being possessed with this error, it was no hard matter to make St. Almachius of Sanctum Almanacum, written in the old way of abbreviation. Having thus framed the saint, out of good manners, he placed him after the circumcision of our Lord, the memory of which is celebrated upon the same day; but yet, to keep the former order as much as possible, it stands immediately after it, as it now continueth in the Roman martyrology. This unhappy mistake was then transcribed into many other copies, and so increased the rabble of the Romish saints with the addition of St. Almanac; afterwards a goodly story was framed of him, that he suffered martyrdom at Rome, under the prefecture of Alippius, where, reprehending the gladiators in the amphitheatre, for their bloody sports, he was killed by them."

v. 243, 244, 249, 250. *Knew when she was in fittest mood—For cutting corns or letting blood;—Whether the wane be or increase—Best to set garlic, or sow pease.*] "The moon in full or wane, increasing or decreasing her light, for the most advantageous sowing of seeds, setting, grafting, removing of plants or trees, purging baths, and the like, though they do not belong to judiciary astrology, yet are commonly referred to it, partly through the ignorance of the multitude, but mostly through the cunning, arrogance, and vanity of astrologers." Gassendus's *Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, chap. xiii. p. 84; chap. xvii. p. 112. See the account of Peter the goat-herd gives of the scholar Chysoptom, Don Quixote, part i. book ii. chap. iv. p. 100.



- He made an instrument to know  
 If the moon shine at full or no;  
 That would, as soon as e'er she shone, straight  
 Whether 'twere day or night demonstrate;  
 265 Tell what her di'meter t' an inch is,  
 And prove that she's not made of greencheese.  
 It would demonstrate, that the man in  
 The moon's a sea mediterranean;  
 And that it is no dog nor bitch,  
 270 That stands behind him at his breech;  
 But a huge Caspian sea, or lake,  
 With arms, which men for legs mistake;  
 How large a gulph his tail composes,  
 And what a goodly bay his nose is;  
 275 How many German leagues by th' scale

v. 265. *Tell what her di'meter t' an inch is.*] Dr. Harris (see *Astronomical Dialogues*, 2d edit. p. 107) observes, that the moon's diameter is almost two thousand two hundred miles. Diameter in geometry is the line which passes through the middle of any figure, from one angle to another. *Bailey's Dictionary*.

v. 266. *And prove that she's not made of green cheese.*] John Taylor (see epigram vii. entitled, *The Sculler*, p. 22) thus banters the poor Cambro-Britons:

"The way to make a Welchman thirst for bliss,  
 And say his prayers daily on his knees,  
 Is to persuade him that most certain 'tis  
 The moon is made of nothing but green cheese;  
 And he'll desire of God no greater boon,  
 But place in heav'n to feed upon the moon."

v. 283, 284 *Quote moles and spots on any place—O' th' body by the index face.*] Lilly, speaking of his teaching his art to one Humphreys, a pretender to astrology, says (*Life*, p. 36), "As we were at supper, a client came to speak with him, and so up into his closet he went with his client, called him in before he set his figure, or resolved the question, and instantly acquainted him

- Cape snout's from promontory tail.  
 He made a planetary gin,  
 Which rats would run their own heads in,  
 And come on purpose to be taken,  
 280 Without th' expence of cheefe or bacon;  
 With lute-strings he would counterfeit  
 Maggots that crawl on dish of meat;  
 Quote moles and spots on any place  
 O' th' body, by the index face;  
 285 Detect lost maidenheads, by sneezing,  
 Or breaking wind of dames, or pissing;  
 Cure warts and corns, with application  
 Of med'cines to th' imagination;  
 Fright agues into dogs, and scare  
 290 With rhymes, the tooth-ach and cattarrh:

him how he should discover the moles or marks of his client. He set his figure, and presently discovered four moles the querent had, and was so overjoyed therewith, that he came tumbling down stairs, crying, four by G—, four by G—, I will not take one hundred pounds for this one rule. In six weeks time, and tarrying with him three days in a week, he became a most judicious person." See Henry Coley's *Key to Astrology* new filed, 2d edit. chap. xvi. § iv.

v. 285. *Detect*, &c ] Democritus, the laughing philosopher, could do this upon a bare view of the person. "Puellæque vitium solo aspectu deprehendit." Hoffmanni Lexic. sub voce Democritus; Diogenis Laertii vit. Democriti, Segm. xlii; Dr. Wotton's *Reflections upon ancient and modern learning*, chap. viii. p. 104.

v. 287, 288. — *with application—Of med'cines to th' imagination* ] There have been pretenders in all ages to the cure of distempers by amulets, which certainly require a strong faith, or great opinion of the person. Varius (as Mr. Webster observes, *Display of supposed Witchcraft*, chap. xvii. p. 324, from his book, *De Fascino*, lib. i. cap. v. p. 22) quotes a passage from Galen to this purpose: "Sunt quidem naturâ læti, qui quando ægro-  
 tant,

Chace evil spirits away by dint  
Of cickle, horse-shoe, hollow-flint;

tant si eos fanos futuros medicus confirmet, convalescunt; quorum spes sanitatis est causa: et medicus si animi desiderium incantatione, aut alicujus rei ad collum appensione adjuverit; citius ad valetudinem perducet."

I have heard of a merry baronet, Sir B. B. who had great success in the cure of agues this way. A gentleman of his acquaintance applying to him for the cure of a stubborn quartan, which had puzzled the bark, he told him he was sure he had no faith, and would be prying into the secret; and then, notwithstanding he staved off a fit or two, it would certainly return again: He promised him upon his word and honour he would not look into it; but when he had escaped a second fit, he had the curiosity, notwithstanding his promise, to open the paper, and he found nothing in it but these words, Kifs mine —. See *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xv. No. 78, p. 1289. Remarkable was the famous Mr. Selden's cure of a hypochondriacal person of quality, who complained to him, that he had devils in his head, but was assured he could cure him. Mr. Selden, trusting to the great opinion the gentleman had of him, wrapped a card in silk, advising him to wear it about his neck, and live regularly in all respects, and he doubted not the success of his remedy: with which, and a little variation of the form a second time, he was in a small time perfectly well, and never relapsed into that disorder. *Table-talk*, p. 49.

No less remarkable is the account of Kiopruli Numan Pasha, prime vizer to Ahmed III. who, though a man of great learning, had contracted so ridiculous a fancy, as to imagine that there was a fly always sitting upon his nose: "All the physicians in Constantinople were consulted upon that occasion, and after they had long in vain used all their endeavours, one Le Duc, a French physician, found means to apply a suitable remedy to the distemper; for he did not go about as the rest to argue with him, that it was all a fancy, but when he was brought to the sick man, and asked by him, Whether he saw the fly that was sitting upon his nose? he said he did, and by that prudent dissimulation induced the disordered person to place the utmost confidence in him. After which he ordered him several innocent juleps, under the name of purging and opening medicines; at last he drew a knife gently along his nose, as if he was going to cut off the fly, which he kept in his hand for that purpose: whereupon Newman Pasha immediately cried out, This is the very fly that has so plagued me; and thus he was perfectly cured of that whimsical fancy."



Spit fire out of a walnut-shell,  
Which made the Roman slaves rebel;

Prince Cantemir's History of the Growth of the Othman Empire, &c. part ii. book iv. p. 449, note.

Mr. Scot tells us of a hypochondriacal person, who fancied that his nose was as big as an house (Discovery of Witchcraft, p. 53), and Mr. Gayton (Notes upon Don Quixote, book iii. chap. xii. p. 158) makes mention of the humorous practice of an apothecary upon a gentleman who fancied he had swallowed a mouse: See Mr. Samuel Wesley's Tale of the Cobbler, in his poems; Amulets of all kinds exposed in Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft, book xii. p. 216, &c.

v. 289, 290. ————*and scare—With rhymes the tooth-ach, &c.*] Bartholin, the famous physician and anatomist, was of opinion, "That distempers, particularly the epilepsy, might be removed by rhymes." Webster's Display of supposed Witchcraft, chap. xvii. p. 3. And Mr. Scot says (Discovery of Witchcraft, book iii. chap. xv. p. 64), "That the Irish stick not to affirm, that they can rhyme either man or beast to death, and that the West Indians and Muscovites do the like." And where the tooth-ach might be removed in this manner, there was no occasion for Ben Jonson's tooth-drawer, "who," he observes (Shepherd's Holiday, Works, vol. i. p. 120), "commanded any man's teeth out of his head upon the point of his poniard, or tickled them forth with his riding-rod, drew teeth on horse-back in full speed, was yeoman of the mouth to the whole brotherhood of fencers, and was charged to see their gums kept clean, and their breath sweet at a minute's warning." John Taylor, the water poet, banters such pretenders (Figure Flinger, p. 23).

"He can release, or else increase all harms,  
About the neck or wrist by tying charms:  
He has a trick to kill the ague's force,  
And make the patient better, or much worse.  
To the great toe three letters he can tie,  
Shall make the gout to tarry, or else fly:  
With two words, and three leaves of four-leav'd grafs,  
He makes the tooth-ach stay, repafs, or pass."

v. 291, 292. *Chace evil spirits away by dint—Of cickle, horse-shoe, &c.*] Mr. Gayton observes (see notes upon Don Quixote, book iii. chap. iv. p. 104), upon Sancho's tying both Rosinante's legs with his ass's halter, "That the Don presently smells out the business, an incantation upon the horse, for want of nailing his old shoes at the door of his house, when he came forth."

And

295 And fire a mine in China here,  
 With fympathetic gun-powder.  
 He knew whats'ever's to be known,  
 But much more than he knew would own:

And Mr. Scot (Discovery of Witchcraft, book xii. chap. xviii. p. 266), "That to prevent or cure all mischiefs wrought by charms or witchcrafts, according to the opinion of M. Mal, and others, one principal way is to nail a horse-shoe at the inside of the outmost threshold of your house, and so you shall be sure no witch shall have power to enter thereunto: And if you mark it, you shall find that rule observed in many a country house." The wild Irish, by way of preservative, practised something like it. Camden's Britannia, edit. 1695, p. 1044.

v. 293, 294. *Spit fire out of a walnut-shell,—Which made the Roman slaves rebel.*] Alluding to the Servile war, headed by Spartacus, and occasioned by the following incident, which I shall give in the words of my author:

"Syrus quidam nomine Eunus (magnitudo cladium facit ut meminerimus) fanatico furore simulato, dum Syriæ Deæ comas jactat; ad libertatem et arma fervos, quasi numinum imperio, concitavit; idque ut divinitus fieri probaret, in ore abdita nuce, quam sulphure et igne stipaverat, leniter inspirans, flammam inter verba fundebat: hoc miraculum primum duo millia ex obviis; mox jure belli refractis ergastulis, sexaginta amplius millium fecit exercitum, regiisque ne quid mali deesset, decoratus insignibus, castella, oppida, vicos miserabili direptione vastavit." Vide Bell. Servil. Lucii Flori, lib. iii. cap. xix. p. 329, edit. varior. 1660; Livii Histon. lib. lvi. cap. xxx. xxxi. &c. tom. vi. p. 354, edit. J. Clerici.

v. 299, 300. *What med'cine it was that Paracelsus—Could make a man with, as he tells us.*] Paracelsus's words are as follow: "Non parva dubitatio et quæstio inter aliquos ex antiquis philosophis fuerit, an naturæ et arti possibile esset hominem gigni extra corpus muliebri, et matricem naturalem? Ad hoc respondeo, quod id arti Spagyricæ (i. e. Chemiæ) et naturæ nullo modo repugnat, imo bene possibile sit. Ut autem id fiat, hoc modo precedentum est: sperma viri per se in cucurbitâ figillatâ putrescat summa putrefactione ventris equini (i. e. stercoreis equini) per quadraginta dies, aut tamdiu donec incipiat vivere, moveri, ac agitare, quod facile videri potest. Post hoc tempus aliquo modo homini simile eit, at tamen pellucidum et sine corpore. Si jam posthac quotidie arcano sanguinis humani caute et prudenter nutriatur et pascatur,

What med'cine 'twas that Paracelsus  
 300 Could make a man with, as he tells us ;  
 What figur'd flates are best to make  
 On wat'ry surface duck or drake ;

pascatur, et per quadraginta septimanas in perpetuo et æquabili calore ventris equini conservetur, sit inde verus et vivus infans, habens omnia membra infantis, qui ex muliere natus est, sed longe minor. Hunc nos homunculum vocamus, et is postea eo modo quo alius infans summâ diligentîâ et studio educandus est, donec adolescat, et sapere et intelligere incipiat. Hoc jam est unum ex maximis secretis, quæ Deus mortali, et peccatis obnoxio homini, patefecit. Est enim miraculum et magnale Dei, et arcanum super omnia arcana, et merito in secretis servari debet usque ad extrema tempora, quando nihil erit reconditi, sed omnia manifestabuntur: et quanquam hoc hætenus hominibus notum non fuerit, fuit tamen Sylvestribus et nymphis (Anglice *Sylphs*) et gigantibus ante multa tempora cognitum, qui inde etiam orti sunt. Quoniam ex talibus homunculis, cum ad ætatem virilem perveniunt, fiant gigantes, pygmæi, et alii homines magni miraculosi, qui instrumenta sunt maguarum rerum, qui magnas victorias contra suos hostes obtinent, et omnia secreta et abscondita noverunt quoniam arte acquirunt quam vitam, arte acquirunt corpus, carnem, ossa, et sanguinem, arte nascuntur; quare etiam ars ipsis incorporatur, et connascitur, et a nullo opus est ipsis discere, quoniam ab arte orti sunt, et existunt." Paracels. de Generat. Rerum Natural. lib. i. (Dr. H.)

See Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, chap. xxiv. p. 49; Parker de Deo Londini, 1665, p. 73; Annotations on Browne's Religio Medici, 1672, p. 112. Van Helmont, a brother chemist, pretended to make mice from wheat (vide Op. par. i. p. 71, edit. Lugduni, 1667). Both which carry with them the same degree of credibility with the story of Pantagruel's begetting three and fifty thousand little men, or dwarfs, with one f—t; and with his figs, or fizzles, the same number of little women. Rabelais's Works, vol. ii. b. ii. chap. xxviii. p. 199, edit. 1735.

v. 301, 302. *What figured flates are best to make—On wat'ry surface duck or drake.*] "Neither crows and pile, nor ducks and drakes, are quite so ancient as handy-dandy, though Macrobius and St. Austin take notice of the first, and Minutius Felix describes the latter. Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, book i. chap. 5, p. 32.



- What bowling-stones, in running race  
 Upon a board, have swiftest pace ;  
 305 Whether a pulse beat in the black  
 List of a dappled louse's back ;  
 If systole or diastole move  
 Quickest when he's in wrath or love ;  
 When two of them do run a race,  
 310 Whether they gallop, trot, or pace ;  
 How many scores a flea will jump,  
 Of his own length, from head to rump ;  
 Which Socrates and Chærephon,  
 In vain, essay'd so long agon ;

v. 307, 308. *If systole or diastole move—Quickest when he's in wrath or love.*] See systole and diastole of a louse, Dr. Hook's *Micrographia*, observ. liv. Of a Louse, p. 212.

v. 310. *Whether they gallop, trot, or pace.*] See John Taylor's *Works*, p. 99 ; Ray's *English proverbs*, p. 280.

v. 311, 312. *How many scores a flea will jump,—Of his own length, from head to rump.*] Dr. Giles Fletcher informs us (see *Purchase's Pilgrims*, part iii. book iii. p. 431), that Basilowitz, the Grand Duke (or rather tyrant) of Muscovy, sent to the city of Moscow, to provide “for him a measure full of live fleas, for a medicine. They answered, the thing was impossible; and if they could get them, they could not measure them, because of their leaping out. Upon which he set a mulct upon them of seven thousand rubles.” And yet as difficult as this was, something of this kind was undertaken by the friend of a jealous husband (see *L'Estrange's Fables*, vol. i. fab. ccxii.), to whose care he had committed his wife for some time; but he desired to be released: “If (says he) it were to turn a bag of fleas into a meadow every morning, and fetch them home again at night, I durst be answerable with my life for the doing of it to a flea; but the other is a commission I dare meddle no farther in.”

v. 313, 314. *Which Socrates and Chærephon—In vain assay'd so long agon.*] \* Aristophanes, in his Comedy of the Clouds, brings in Socrates and Chærephon measuring the leap of a flea, from the one's beard to the other's. Upon which Mousset observes (*Insector, Theatr. lib. ii. cap. xxviii. p. 276*), “Horum dum aucupes

315 Whether his snout a perfect nose is,  
 And not an elephant's proboscis;  
 How many diff'rent specieses  
 Of maggots breed in rotten cheese;

cupes mensurare saltum curiosule dant operam (ut Aristophanes loquitur) λαγρον λαγουσι. See T. Coryat's preface upon Travel, prefixed to his Crudities.

No less humorous than this is the custom mentioned by Huetius, of their chusing at Hardenberg the chief magistrate by a louse: "Venimus Hardenburgam ——— minime veri lectori injucundum fore puto cognoscere, quo ritu Consul illic creari solet, uti quidem ab oppidanis accepimus.——"

Hinc Hardenburgam serâ sub nocte venimus,  
 Ridetur veteri nobis mos ductus ab ævo;  
 Quippe ubi deligitur revoluto tempore consul,  
 Barbati circa mensam statuuntur acervam,  
 Hispidaque apponunt attenti, menta quirites:  
 Porrigitur series barbarum, desuper ingens  
 Bestia, pes mordax, sueta inter crescere fordes,  
 Barbam adiit, festo huic: gratantur murmure patres,  
 Atque celebratur subjecta per oppida consul."

Huetii Comment. de rebus ad se pertinentibus, 1718, p. 76.  
 Or the choice of a mayor somewhere in Essex, by a calf; the competitors having a whisp of hay stuck in their b—ms. Heraclitus ridens, No. 66.

v. 315, 316. *Whether his snout a perfect nose is,—And not an elephant's proboscis.*] "Proboscidis mucro paulu est rigidior, ut eum facilius penetret." Mouseti Insector. Theatr. lib. ii. cap. xxviii. See a farther account of a flea's proboscis, Dr. Hook's Micrograph. observ. liii. p. 210. Some microscopical observations on the structure of the spleen and proboscis of fleas, by Anthony Van Leuwenhoeck, F. R. S. Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxv. No. 307, p. 2311, 3312.

v. 317, 318. *How many different specieses—Of maggots breed in rotten cheese.*] *Species's* in editions 1664, 1674, 1684, altered to *specieses*, 1689.

"—— Others aver, that mites in cheese  
 Live in a monarchy like bees;  
 Have civil laws and magistrates,  
 Their rise, their periods, and fates,  
 Like other powers and states.  
 And by a strange peculiar art,  
 Can hear them sneeze, discourse, and f—t."

A Pindaric Poem, to the Society of Beaux Esprits, p. 15.

And which are next of kin to those  
 320 Engender'd in a chandler's nose;  
 Or those not seen, but understood,  
 That live in vinegar and wood.

A poultry wretch he had, half-starv'd,  
 That him in place of Zany serv'd,  
 325 Hight Whachum, bred to dash and draw,  
 Not wine, but more unwholesome law;  
 To make 'twixt words and lines huge gaps,  
 Wide as meridians in maps;

v. 322. *That live in vinegar*—] See Dr. Hook's account of vinegar worms, *Micrographia*, observ. lvii. p. 216.

v. 324. *In place of Zany.*] A buffoon, or jack-pudding. In France he is called Jean-pottages, in Italy Macaronies, in Holland Pickled-herring. Spectator, No. 47.

Mr. Theobald, in a note upon Shakespeare's play, entitled, *All's well that end's well*, act iii. vol. ii. p. 401, observes, "That it was a foolery practis'd at city entertainments, whilst the jester or Zany was in vogue, for him to jump into a large deep custard, set on purpose, to set on a quantity of barren spectators to laugh; as our poet says in his *Hamlet*." I do not advance this without some authority, and a quotation from Ben Jonson will very well explain it:

"He ne'er will be admitted there where Vennor comes:  
 He may, perchance, in tail of a sheriff's dinner  
 Skip with a rhyme o' th' table with new nothing,  
 And take his almain leap into a custard;  
 Shall make my Lady May'refs and her sisters  
 Laugh all their hoods over their shoulders."

Devil's an Ass, act i. sc. i.

This might occasion as much mirth as the cook's serving up the dwarf in a pie. See Mr. Cleveland's Works, edit. 1677, p. 103.

v. 325. *Hight Whachum.*] Journeyman to Sidrophel, who was (says Sir Roger L'Estrange) one Tom Jones, a foolish Welchman. In a Key to a poem of Mr. Butler's, 1706, in folio, p. 14, Whachum is said to be one Richard Green, who published a pamphlet of about five sheets of base ribaldry, called, *Hudibras in a Snare*. It was printed about the year 1667.

v. 327,



- To squander paper, and spare ink,  
 330 Or cheat men of their words, some think.  
 From this, by merited degrees,  
 He'd to more high advancement rise;  
 To be an under-conjurer,  
 Or journeyman astrologer:  
 335 His bus'ness was to pump and wheedle,  
 And men with their own keys unriddle,  
 To make them to themselves give answers,  
 For which they pay the necromancers;

v. 327, 328, 329, 330. *To make 'twixt words and lines huge gaps,—Wide as meridians in maps;—To squander paper and spare ink,—Or cheat men of their words, some think.*] Alluding either to bills in chancery, where fifteen lines are contained in each sheet, and six words in each line; or to blank instruments humorously bantered by the Spectator, No. 563.

“ I T. Blank, Esq. of Blank town, in the county of Blank, do own myself indebted in the sum of Blank, to Goodman Blank, for the service he did me in procuring the goods following, Blank: and I do hereby promise the said Blank, to pay to him the said sum of Blank, on the Blank day of the month of Blank next ensuing, under the penalty and forfeiture of Blank ”

“ Your Blanks are ancient numerous folks;  
 There's John a Styles, and John a Nokes,  
 There's dash *scribendo*, and *hiatus*,  
 And *inuendo*, that points at us;  
 Eke so, d'ye see, as I may say,  
 And so forth, and *et cætera*.”

On the Family of the Blanks, Miscellaneous Poems,  
 published by D. Lewis, 1730, p. 289.

v. 335, 336. *His business was to pump and wheedle,—And men with their own keys unriddle.*] We have in this age been pestered with Sidrophels and Whachums, who were arrived at a greater height of juggling and cheating than those in Hudibras's time were: To prove this, I shall only give the reader the device of a Sidrophel in Moorfields, as related by the Spectator, No. 193. “ The Doctor having gained much reputation by his horary predictions, is said to have had in his parlour different ropes to little  
 D 2 bells,

- To fetch and carry intelligence,  
 340 Of whom, of what, and where, and whence,  
 And all discoveries disperse  
 Among th' whole pack of conjurers;  
 What cutpurses have left with them,  
 For the right owners to redeem:  
 345 And what they dare not vent, find out,  
 To gain themselves and th' art repute;  
 Draw figures, schemes, and horoscopes,  
 Of Newgate, Bridewell, brokers shops,

bells, which hung in a room above stairs, where the Doctor thought fit to be oraculous. If a girl had been deceived by a lover, one bell was pulled; and if a peasant had lost a cow, the servant rang another. This method was kept in respect to all other passions and concerns; and the skilful waiter below sifted the enquirer, and gave the Doctor notice accordingly." (Mr. B.)

Seen an account of the league between Stephen Taylor and one Pope, the one to steal horses, and the other to discover them. Abstract of Scot's Hist. of Witchcraft, British Librarian, No. 4, for September, 1737, p. 233; and an account of the Calabrian astrologer and physician, Turkish Spy, vol. vi. book ii. letter 19.

v. 347, 348. *Draw figures, schemes, and horoscopes,—Of Newgate, Bridewell, brokers shops.*] See this piece of grimace in astrologers exposed by Ben Jonson, Alchymist, act i. sc. iii. p. 537.

v. 353. *Who pick'd a fob at holding forth.*]

*Nig.* "At plays, and at sermons, and at the sessions,

'Tis daily their practice such booty to make;

Yea, under the gallows, at executions,

They stick not the stare-about's purses to take:

Nay one without grace

At a better place,

At court, and in Christmas, before the King's face;

Alas then for pity, must I bear the curse

That only belongs to the cunning cutpurse."

Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, act iii. sc. v.

A French poet observes of a Jesuit, that he will pick your pocket

Of thieves ascendant in the cart ;  
 350 And find out all by rules of art :  
 Which way a serving-man, that's run  
 With cloaths or money away, is gone ;  
 Who pick'd a fob at holding forth,  
 And where a watch, for half the worth,  
 355 May be redeem'd ; or stolen plate  
 Restor'd at conscionable rate.  
 Beside all this, he serv'd his master  
 In quality of poetaster ;

et in the middle of his Pater Noster (Sir Roger L'Estrange's reflection upon the fable of a Cat and Venus, part i. fab. lxi) ; and a pickpocket observing that the times were pretty difficult, said, "The Lord be praised for it, the churches are pretty full still." (L'Estrange's fables, part ii. fab. 29.) The author of the Tale of a Tub gives us a reason why the preaching of the dissenters is called *holding forth*, p. 212 : speaking of the preachers of those times, he says, "that the devout sifers, who looked upon all dilatations of the ear as protrusions of zeal, of spiritual excrescences, were sure to honour every head they sat upon, as if they had been cloven tongues ; but especially that of the preacher's, whose ears were usually of the prime magnitude, which upon that account he was frequent in exposing with all the advantages to the people in his rhetorical paroxysms, turning sometimes to hold forth the one, and sometimes to hold forth the other. From which custom, the whole operation of preaching is to this very day, among their professors, stiled by the phrase of *holding forth*." Mr. Cleveland observes (Character of a Diurnal-maker, Works, 1677, p. 108), "that in the gibberish of the saints of those times, a *hinter* differed from a *holder forth*."

v. 355, 356. — *or stolen plate—Restor'd at conscionable rate.*] In 1655, Lilly was indicted at Hickes's hall for giving judgment for a reward upon stolen goods, but acquitted. See History of his Life, p. 71, and the indictment, p. 115. General Historical Dictionary, vol. vii. p. 85.

John Taylor observes (Figure-flinger, Works, p. 13), that these gentlemen were usually paid, whether they recovered the stolen goods or not :



And rhymes appropriate could make  
 360 To every month i' th' almanac ;  
 When terms begin and end could tell,  
 With their returns in doggerel ;  
 When the exchequer opes and shuts ;  
 And fow-gelder with safety cuts ;  
 365 When men may eat and drink their fill,  
 And when be temp'rate, if they will ;  
 When use and when abstain from vice,  
 Figs, grapes, phlebotomy, and spice.  
 And as in prison mean rogues beat  
 370 Hemp, for the service of the great ;  
 So Whachum beat his dirty brains,  
 T' advance his master's fame and gains ;  
 And like the devil's oracles,

" If lost goods you would fain have got,  
 Go but to him, and you shall speed or not ;  
 But he will gain, whether you get or lose,  
 He'll have his fee, for so the bargain goes."

v. 359, 360. *And rhymes appropriate could make—To ev'ry month  
 : th' almanac.*] A sneer probably upon John Booker, who, as Lilly  
 observes (see History of his own Life, p. 28), made " excellent  
 verses upon the twelve months, framed according to the configu-  
 rations of each."

v. 368. ———*phlebotomy.*] Though this word, which signifies  
 no more than letting blood, is generally understood, yet some  
 may possibly mistake the meaning of it, as did Mr. Lovelight  
 (Plain Dealer, vol. i. No. xxvii, p. 210), of whom Mrs. Lætitia  
 Lovelight, his wife, gives the following account: " We came to  
 town (says she) the last week, where my poor dear drank hard,  
 and fell so ill that I was alarmed for him. The lady whose  
 house we lodged at would needs send for Dr. Fossile, a man of ex-  
 cellent learning, but, to borrow a phrase of Shakespeare's, it  
 is sickened over with affectation. When he had felt my husband's  
 pulse, and gone through a course of questions, he turned from  
 whispering Mr. Juniper, who was in waiting, and said to me with  
 a phy-

- Put into doggerel rhymes his spells,  
 375 Which over every month's blank page  
 I' th' almanac strange bilks presage.  
 He would an elegy compose  
 On maggots squeez'd out of his nose;  
 In lyric numbers write an ode on  
 380 His mistress eating a black pudding;  
 And when imprison'd air escap'd her,  
 It puff'd him with poetic rapture.  
 His sonnets charm'd th' attentive croud,  
 By wide mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,  
 385 That, circled with his long-ear'd guests,  
 Like Orpheus look'd among the beasts;  
 A carman's horse could not pass by,  
 But stood ty'd up to poetry;

a physical air, not the air of a physician,—Ma'am, I have ordered Mr. What's-his-name, your spouse's apothecary, to phlebotomize him to-morrow morning.—To do what with me? cried my poor husband, starting up in his bed; I will never suffer it.—No, I am not, I thank God, in so desperate a condition as to undergo so damnable an operation as that is.—As what is? my dear, answered I, smiling; the Doctor would have you blooded.—Ay, for bleeding, replied he, I like it well enough; but for that other thing he ordered, I will sooner die than submit to it.”

v. 373, 374. *And like the devil's oracles,—Put into dogg'el rhyme: his spells.*] The most reverend his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury observes (*Antiquities of Greece*, vol. i. chap. ix). “That Pythia, the priestess of Apollo, in Pyrrhus's time, had left off giving answers in verse, which had been the custom of all former ages from the foundation of the oracle; deriving its original from Phæmonoe, the first Pythia.” Vide Alexand. ab Alexandro, *Genial. Dier.* lib. vi. cap. ii. *De Delphico Oraculo.*

v. 386. *Like Orpheus, &c.*] See Mr. Fenton's *Observations upon Mr. Waller's Poems*, p. 22, 23.

- No porter's burthen pass'd along,  
 390 But serv'd for burthen to his song;  
 Each window like a pill'ry appears,  
 With heads thrust through nail'd by the ears;  
 All trades run in as to the fight  
 Of monsters, or their dear delight,  
 395 The gallow tree, when cutting purse  
 Breeds bus'ness for heroic verse,  
 Which none does hear but would have hung  
 T' have been the theme of such a song.  
 Those two together long had liv'd,  
 400 In mansion prudently contriv'd,  
 Where neither tree nor house could bar  
 The free detection of a star;  
 And nigh an ancient obelisk

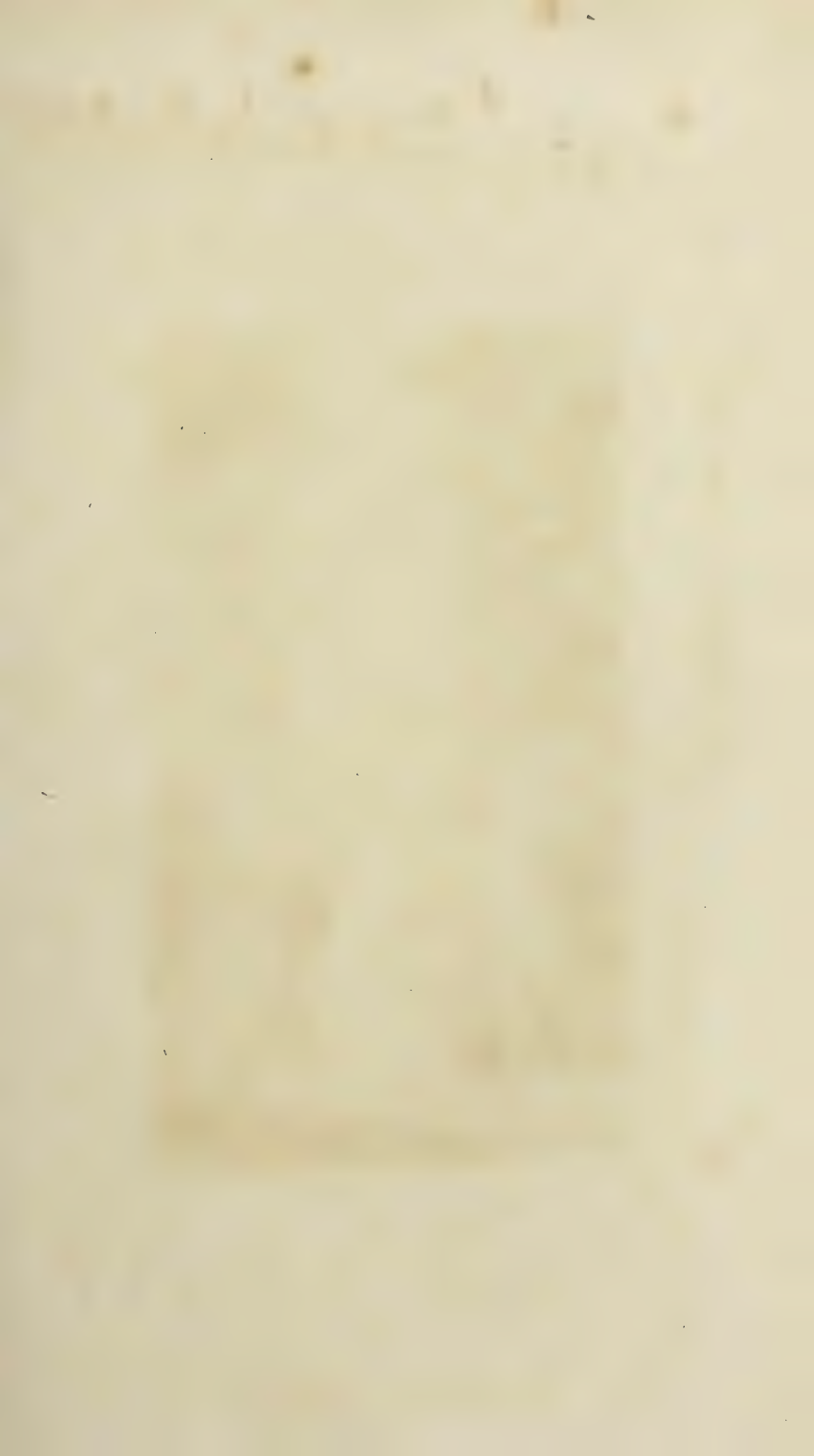
v. 387. *A carman's horse could not pass by.*] See Waspé's account of his young master. Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, act i. sc. iv.

v. 395, 396. *The gallow tree, when cutting purse—Breeds bus'ness for heroic verse.*] "I could make you a true relation of some (says Gassendus, *Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, p. 151) who having been told by astrologers, that they should die by a rope, have, to prevent the shame of the common gallows, hanged themselves, when they had no other occasion of discontent."

v. 397, 398. *Which none does hear but would have hung—T' have been the theme of such a song.*] Especially if the first Squire Ketch had been the executioner, of whom it was observed by his wife, "That any bungler might put a man to death, but that her husband only knew how to make a gentleman die sweetly."

v. 400. *In mansion prudently contriv'd.*] Lilly's house was at Hortham in the parish of Walton upon Thames, where he tells us he constantly lived when he was not in London. As to the following story, upon which the poet is so pleasant, he prudently omits the mention of it in his Life, as knowing it could not redound to his honour or reputation. (Mr. B.)







Hogarth del.

Ridley sculp.

Was rais'd by him, found out by Fisk,  
 405 On which was written, not in words,  
 But hieroglyphic mute of birds,  
 Many rare pithy saws concerning  
 The worth of astrologic learning:  
 From top of this there hung a rope,  
 410 To which he fasten'd telescope,  
 The spectacles with which the stars  
 He reads in smallest characters.  
 It happen'd as a boy, one night,  
 Did fly his tarsel of a kite;  
 415 The strangest long-wing'd hawk that flies,  
 That, like a bird of paradise,  
 Or herald's martlet, has no legs,  
 Nor hatches young ones, nor lays eggs;

v. 404. —*Found out by Fisk.*] La Fisk, a pretended astrologer and juggler, is mentioned in Fletcher's tragedy of Rollo Duke of Normandy, act iv. sc. i, ii, iii.

But Mr. Butler alludes to one Fisk, of whom Lilly observes (in his Life, 2d edit. p. 29) that he was a licentiate in physick, and born near Framlingham in Suffolk; was bred at a country school, and designed for the university, but went not thither; studying physick and astrology at home, which he afterwards practised at Colchester, after which he came to London, and practised there. Lilly says, he had good skill in the art of directions upon nativities; and that he learnt from him many things in that way, and how to know good books in that art. He was famous about the year 1633, and died in the 78th year of his age. Lilly's Life, p. 38, 39.

v. 407. *Many rare pithy saws.*] A saw, an old or grave saying, a proverb, a maxim. Bailey's Dict.

v. 416, 417. *That like a bird of paradise,—Or herald's martlet' has no legs.*] Mr. Willoughby (in his Ornithology, b. ii. chap. xii. p. 90) gives the following account in proof of the birds of paradise having legs: I myself, saith Johannes de Laet, "have two birds of paradise of different kinds, and have seen many others,  
 all



His train was fix yards long, milk-white,  
 420 At th' end of which there hung a light,  
 Inclos'd in lanthorn made of paper,  
 That far off like a star did appear.  
 This Sidrophel by chance espy'd,  
 And with amazement staring wide,  
 425 Bless us, quoth he, what dreadful wonder  
 Is that appears in heav'n yonder?  
 A comet, and without a beard!  
 Or star that ne'er before appear'd?

all which had feet, and those truly, for the bulk of their bodies, sufficiently great, and very strong legs: The same is confirmed by Margravius Clusius in his *Exotics*, and Wormius in his *Musæum*, p. 295.—These most beautiful birds, as Aldrovandus reports, are called by the inhabitants of the Molucca islands, *Manucodiatæ*, *i. e.* God's birds.—They are called birds of paradise, both for their excellent shape, and beauty of their bodies; and also because where they are bred, whence they come, and whither they betake themselves, is unknown, since they are found only dead. And the vulgar imagine them to drop out of heaven or paradise." See Le Blanc's *Travels*, part i. chap. xxvii. p. 115.

They are of various colours, some white and scarlet, others white and yellow. Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. v. book ii. chap. vii. p. 105.

As to the martlet in heraldry, it is a little bird represented without feet, but with legs; and it is used as a difference, or mark of distinction, of the fourth brother. *Dist.* to Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*, last edit. See an account of the Black Martin, or Swift, Willoughby's *Ornithology*, book ii. p. 214.

v. 427. *A comet, and without a beard!*] See an account of the beards and tails of comets, Dr. Harris's *Astronomical Dialogues*, p. 138 to 145 inclusive, 2d edit. *Lexicon Technicum*, under the word *Comet*; Chalmers's *Cyclopædia*; Bailey's *Dictionary*, fol. ed. an account of the comet in the year 1618; Johnstons *Rerum Britannic. Hist. lib. xvii.* p. 530; and an account of the nature of comets, Spencer's *Prodigies*, 2d edit. p. 282.

- I'm certain 'tis not in the scrowl  
 430 Of all those beasts, and fish, and fowl,  
 With which, like Indian plantations,  
 The learned stock the constellations;  
 Nor those that drawn for signs have been,  
 To th' houses where the planets inn.  
 435 It must be supernatural,  
 Unless it be that cannon-ball  
 That, shot i' th' air point-blank upright,  
 Was borne to that prodigious height,

v. 428. *Or star that ne'er before appear'd.*] See an account of such stars, Dr Harris's *Astronomical Dialogues*, p. 65, 85; *Lexicon Technicum*, under the title of Fixed Stars; Mr. Fenton's *Observations upon Mr. Waller's Poems*, quarto, p. 80; of the new star that appeared in the year 1670, *Philosoph. Transactions*, vol. iv. No. 65, p. 2087; and a short history of several new stars that have appeared within one hundred and fifty years, to the year 1715, *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 346, vol. xxix. p. 353.

v. 429. *I'm certain 'tis not in the scrol.*] See Dr. Harris's *Astronomical Dialogues*, p. 30.

v. 433, 434. *Nor those that drawn for signs have been,—To th' houses where the planets inn.*] “ You see (says Dr. Harris, *Astronomical Dialogues*, p. 30) why astronomers call them the twelve signs, because they begin or mark out the place of the sun in the heavens; and also why astrologers call them houses, because they assign them for dwellings, or places of abode for the planets.” Gassendus (see *Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, chap. ix. p. 52) demolishes the celestial houses, and merrily observes (p. 55), “ That that man had no dull nor unpleasant fancy who first made the planets provide stables for beasts in the heavens, and take care of greater cattle in the twelfth house, and smaller in the sixth.”

v. 436. *Unless it be that cannon-ball.*] \* “ The experiment was tried by some foreign virtuosi, who planted a piece of ordnance point-blank against the zenith, and having fired it, the bullet never returned back again; which made them all conclude that it sticks in the mark: But Des Cartes was of opinion that it does but hang in the air.” See more, *Tale of a Tub*, p. 252.

That learn'd philosophers maintain,  
 440 It ne'er came backwards down again;  
 But in the airy region yet  
 Hangs like the body of Mahomet:  
 For if it be above the shade  
 That by the earth's round bulk is made,  
 445 'Tis probable it may from far  
 Appear no bullet but a star.

This said, he to his engine flew,  
 Plac'd near at hand, in open view,  
 And rais'd it till it levell'd right  
 450 Against the glow-worm tail of kite.  
 Then peeping through, Bless us! (quoth he)  
 It is a planet now I see;  
 And, if I err not, by his proper  
 Figure, that's like tobacco-stopper,  
 455 It should be Saturn: yes, 'tis clear,  
 'Tis Saturn; but what makes him there?  
 He's got between the dragon's tail,

"A ray of light runs between the sun and earth in six or seven minutes; and yet a cannon-ball, supposing it move all the way as fast as when it just parts from the gun, cannot arrive at the sun in twenty-five years." Dr. Harris's *Astronomical Dialogues*, p. 75. And at one of the fixed stars in 50,000 years. *Id. ib.* p. 82.

v. 453, 454, 455. *And, if I err not, by his proper—Figure, that's like tobacco stopper,—It should be Saturn—*] If a tobacco-stopper is turned so, as to have a round knob shooting out with two ends (and there are many such), it will be like the print we have of Saturn in many books of astronomy. (Dr. W. W.)

Dr. Harris (see *Astronomical Dialogues*, p. 134, 135) calls this but a mere ridicule: "Though (he says) it has its use; for it impresses itself and the thing stronger in the memory than perhaps a more just and serious description would have done."



- And farther leg behind o' th' whale ;  
 Pray heaven avert the fatal omen,  
 460 For 'tis a prodigy not common ;  
 And can no less than the world's end,  
 Or nature's funeral, portend.  
 With that he fell again to pry,  
 Through perspective more wistfully,  
 465 When by mischance the fatal string,  
 That kept the tow'ring fowl on wing,  
 Breaking, down fell the star : Well shot,  
 Quoth Whachum, who right wisely thought  
 H' had levell'd at a star, and hit it :  
 470 But Sidrophel, more subtle-witted,  
 Cry'd out, what horrible and fearful  
 Portent is this, to see a star fall ;  
 It threatens nature, and the doom  
 Will not be long before it come !  
 475 When stars do fall, 'tis plain enough,  
 The day of judgment's not far off :

v. 461, 462. *And can no less than the world's end,—Or nature's funeral, portend.*] Spenser thus describes the fears of the vulgar, upon the appearance of a blazing star :

“ Thus as she fled, her eyes she backward threw,  
 As fearing evil that pursu'd her fast ;  
 And her fair yellow locks behind her flew,  
 Loosely dispers'd with puff of ev'ry blast ;  
 All as a blazing star doth far out-cast  
 His hairy beams, and flaming locks dispreed ;  
 At sight whereof the people stand aghast ;  
 But the sage wizard tells, as he has read,  
 That it importunes death, and doleful drearihead.”

Fairy Queen, book iii. canto i. stan. xvi. vol. ii. p. 371.

Vide Wolfii Lætion. Memorab. par. post. p. 950.

v. 475. *When stars do fall.*]

“ Sæpe enim stellas vento impendente videbis

Præcipites cælo labi——” Virg. Georg. i. 365, 366.

“ And

As lately 'twas reveal'd to Sedgwick,  
 And some of us find out by magic.  
 Then since the time we have to live  
 480 In this world's shorten'd, let us strive  
 To make our best advantage of it,  
 And pay our losses with our profit.

This feat fell out not long before  
 The Knight upon the fore-nam'd score,  
 485 In quest of Sidrophel advancing,  
 Was now in prospect of the mansion;  
 Whom he discovering, turn'd his glass,  
 And found far off, 'twas Hudibras.

Whachum (quoth he), look yonder some  
 490 To try or use our art are come:  
 The one's the learned Knight; seek out,  
 And pump 'em what they come about.  
 Whachum advanc'd, with all submiss'ness  
 T'accoft 'em, but much more their bus'ness:

“ And oft before tempestuous winds arise  
 The seeming stars fall head-long from the skies.” Dryden

“ Non cadere in terram stellas et fidera cernis.”

Lucret. lib. ii. p. 209.

Vide Wolfii Lectio. Memorab. sub ann. 765, par. i. p. 200. “ Hoc tempore stellæ de cælo delapsæ sunt: significantes papam et clericos, ac ecclesiæ optimates de negotiis cœlestibus, quorum cura sola solis illis demandata esset, desciscere, et terrenis mundi rebus se involvere.”

v. 477. *As lately 'twas reveal'd to Sedgwick.*] William Sedgwick, a whimsical enthusiast, sometimes a Presbyterian, sometimes an Independent, and at other times an Anabaptist; sometimes a prophet, and pretended to foretel things out of the pulpit to the destruction of ignorant people; at other times pretended to revelations, and upon pretence of a vision that doom-day

495 He held a stirrup while the Knight  
 From leathern bare-bones did alight;  
 And taking from his hand the bridle,  
 Approach'd the dark Squire to unriddle:  
 He gave him first the time o' th' day,  
 500 And welcom'd him, as he might say:  
 He ask'd him whence they came, and whither  
 Their bus'ness lay? Quoth Ralpho, Hither.  
 Did you not lose?— Quoth Ralpho, Nay;  
 Quoth Whachum, Sir, I meant your way!  
 505 Your Knight— Quoth Ralpho, is a lover,  
 And pains intolerable doth suffer:  
 For lovers hearts are not their own hearts,  
 Nor lights, nor lungs, and so forth downwards.  
 What time?—Quoth Ralpho, Sir, too long,  
 510 Three years it off and on has hung—  
 Quoth he, I meant what time o' th' day 'tis;  
 Quoth Ralpho, between seven and eight 'tis.

day was at hand, he retired to the house of Sir Francis Ruffel in  
 Cambridgeshire; and finding several gentlemen at bowls, called  
 upon them to prepare for their dissolution; telling them, that he  
 had lately received a revelation, that doomsday would be some  
 day the week following. Upon which they ever after called him  
 Doomsday Sedgwick. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. part ii. col. cccxxv,  
 cccxxvi, first edit.

v. 491. *The one's the learned Knight.*] It appears from Lilly's  
 life, that he and the Knight were acquainted; so that from hence,  
 and the Knight's figure, he might well know him at a distance.  
 I need not observe (for every reader will readily do it) how natu-  
 rally Whachum makes a discovery of the Knight's business from  
 Ralpho, and how artfully he communicates it to Sidrophel. Upon  
 this discovery is founded the Knight's surprise, and his learned  
 debate with the conjurer, which is gradually worked up to such  
 a warmth, as necessarily involves the Knight in a fourth engage-  
 ment, whereby he happily gains a second victory. (Mr. B.)

v. 530.



- Why then (quoth Whachum) my small art  
 Tells me, the dame has a hard heart,  
 115 Or great estate—Quoth Ralph, A jointure,  
 Which makes him have so hot a mind t' her.  
 Mean while the Knight was making water,  
 Before he fell upon the matter ;  
 Which having done, the wizard steps in,  
 520 To give him suitable reception ;  
 But kept his business at a bay,  
 Till Whachum put him in the way ;  
 Who having now, by Ralpho's light,  
 Expounded th' errand of the Knight ;  
 525 And what he came to know, drew near,  
 To whisper in the conj'rer's ear,  
 Which he prevented thus : What was't,  
 Quoth he, that I was saying last,  
 Before these gentlemen arriv'd ?  
 530 Quoth Whachum, Venus you retriev'd,

v. 530. *Quoth Whachum, Venus you retriev'd.*] Whachum having pumped Ralph, and learned of him the business they came about, tells it to his master in astrological cant. Mars and Venus are the lover and his mistress in opposition. She is not Virgo, therefore a widow. (Dr. B.)

v. 535, 536. *Has Saturn nothing to do in it?—One tenth of's circle to a minute.*] The planet Saturn is thirty years (or thereabout) going round the zodiac; three years being the tenth of his circle, the conjurer told the Knight he knew his errand. "Saturni circuitus absolvitur solummodo intra annos proxime triginta." Gassendi *Astronomia*, lib. iii. cap. ii. "The time of his revolution (says Dr. Harris, *Astronomical Dialogues*, p. 131) is about thirty years, or more exactly speaking in 10,759 days, 6 hours, 36 minutes."

"Then lost is fullen Saturn's ample bounds,  
 Who once in thirty years the world surrounds."

J. Taylor's Works, p. 132.

v. 539,



Hogarth del.

Ridley sculp





- In opposition with Mars,  
 And no benign friendly stars  
 T' allay the effect. Quoth wizard, So!  
 In Virgo? Ha! quoth Whachum, No:  
 535 Has Saturn nothing to do in it?  
 One tenth of's circle to a minute.  
 'Tis well, quoth he.—Sir, you'll excuse  
 This rudeness I am forc'd to use,  
 It is a scheme and face of heaven,  
 540 As th' aspects are dispos'd this even,  
 I was contemplating upon,  
 When you arriv'd; but now I've done.  
 Quoth Hudibras, If I appear  
 Unseasonable in coming here,  
 545 At such a time, to interrupt  
 Your speculations, which I hop'd  
 Assistance from, and come to use,  
 'Tis fit that I ask your excuse.

v. 539, 540. *It is a scheme and face of heaven,—As th' aspects are dispos'd this even.*] See this piece of grimace exposed, Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft, book xi. chap. xxi.

v. 545, 546. ——— *to interrupt—Your speculations.*] From the succeeding part of this Canto, it is plain that Sidrophel did not gain the same credit with Hudibras that another fortune-teller did with the person who consulted him in a matrimonial case. See L'Estrange's Fables, part ii. fab. vi. "A fellow (says he) that had a wambling towards matrimony, consulted a man of art in Moor-fields, whether he should marry or not: The cunning man put on his considering cap, and gave him this short answer: Pray have a care how you marry hand over head (says he) as people frequently do; for you are a lost man if you go that way to work: but if you can have the heart to forbear your spouse's company for three days and three nights, well told, after you two are man and wife, I will be bound to burn my books if  
 VOL. II. E you

By no means, Sir, quoth Sidrophel,  
 550 The stars your coming did portel;  
 I did expect you here, and knew,  
 Before you spake, your bus'ness too.

Quoth Hudibras, Make that appear,  
 And I shall credit whatsoe'er  
 555 You tell me after, on your word,  
 Howe'er unlikely or absurd.

You are in love, Sir, with a widow,  
 Quoth he, that does not greatly heed you,

you do not find the comfort of it. The man took the virgin to his wedded wife, and kept his distance accordingly; while the woman in the mean time took pet, and parted beds upon it, and so the wizard saved his credit."

Less fortunate in this respect was Dr. William Ramsay, with whom Dr. Young was acquainted. See Sidrophel Vapulans, p. 31, "who publicly boasted of skill enough in astrology to fore-know a man's fate, particularly whether he was born to be rich, fortunate in marriage, &c. and depended so much upon it as to assure himself of great wealth, and happy nuptials; who yet died poor in a gaol, after he had married such a wife, as prevailed on him to write that satire, entitled, *Conjugium Conjugium*."

Some of the saints of those times, in cases of matrimony, took a different method, and pretended to seek the Lord, as appears from the following prayer of Mr. George Swathe, minister of Denham in Suffolk. See his Prayers, published 1739, p. 15. "O my good Lord, &c. I this night desire thy counsel in behalf of Roger Horsteede of Hengrave: Thou, Lord, knowest whether it be better for him to live a single life, or to marry the first woman that was propounded to him, with whom he has been thrice, who loves him well; or to accept of the second maid proffered him, which is further off, whom he hath only seen once, she having carnal friends, and more beauty, and more pleasing behaviour than the former, who hath godly friends: yet at this present I know neither of these, nor any of their friends by name or face. Lord, I desire thy special counsel which I shall advise him unto, or to live as he is. I know not of these three things which is best for him to chuse: I pray thee guide me in my judgment, that so I may in due time direct him what way

And for three years has rid your wit  
 560 And passion, without drawing bit;  
 And now your bus'ness is to know  
 If you shall carry her or no.

Quoth Hudibras, You're in the right,  
 But how the devil you come by't  
 565 I can't imagine; for the stars,  
 I'm sure, can tell no more than a horse;  
 Nor can their aspects (though you pore  
 Your eyes out on 'em) tell you more

way to chuse what to do. Thou, O my God, knowest what way is best, what course will be most for thy glory, and for his good. Lord, he desires to resign his will to thy will, he desires to go in that way wherein thou wilt meet him, wherein thou wilt bless him, wherein he may gain thee most glory in his life and conversation. If thou wilt continue to him the gift of chastity, as thou hast for thirty-five years, then persuade his heart that way: If thou wilt have him accept of the first offer, then direct him that way: If thou wilt have him take the second proffer, then counsel him that way; or shew to me which of these ways is best, that I may direct him as from thy counsel. Lord, let thy hand appear in the pitching of his heart upon that choice which thou wouldst have him make; let thy providence appear in his choice. Hear my desires, petitions, and requests for him."

v. 550. *The stars your coming did foretel.*] "How to determine their influence particular (says the author of the *Turkish Spy*, vol. viii. book iv. letter x.) by divination, by calculating nativities, erecting horoscopes, and other schemes of astrology: to foretel things to come, to avoid prognosticated evils, and engross all happy events; to predict other mens fates, whilst we are ignorant of our own, &c. is a thing which appears to me beyond the power of human reason, and a science built on sand."

v. 557. *You are in love, Sir, with a widow.*] See gipsy-fortune-teller to Sir Roger de Coverly, *Spectator*, No. 130.

v. 565, 566. ————— *for the stars,—I'm sure, can tell no more than a horse.*] Paracelsus (according to Mr. Webster, *Displaying*  
 E 2 of



- Than th' oracle of sieve and sheers,  
 570 That turns as certain as the spheres:  
 But if the devil's of your counsel,  
 Much may be done, my noble Donzel;  
 And 'tis on his account I come,  
 To know from you my fatal doom.  
 575 Quoth Sidrophel, If you suppose,  
 Sir Knight, that I am one of those,  
 I might suspect, and take the alarm,  
 Your bus'ness is but to inform;

of supposed Witchcraft, chap. xvii. p. 340) was of a different opinion: "Præterea fidei nota sunt omnia, quæ in naturâ existunt: unde (inquit) sapiens dominabitur astris: is sapiens, qui virtutes illas ad sui obedientiam cogere potest."

Nay some astrologers (see Gassendus's *Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, p. 6) supposed, "That in the zodiac were twelve princely gods presiding over the twelve signs, there being besides thirty other stars as privy counsellors to those deities, which did observe and recount all occurrences upon earth, that the celestial senate might consult and decree accordingly."

v. 569. *Than th' oracle of sieve and sheers.*] See the manner of trying this foolish experiment in Wierus, *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 196; and in Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book xii. chap. xvii. p. 262; book xvi. chap. v. p. 478.

v. 572. ——— *my noble Donzel.*] Or Don. The word used by Face to Surley, who (in Ben Jonson's *Alchymist*, act iv. sc. iii. and sc. vi.) acted the part of a Spaniard.

v. 578. ——— *but to inform.*] At that time there was a severe inquisition against witches, conjurers, &c. (Mr. W.) as there was at the beginning of the reign of King James I. I find in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 666, a special pardon from King James to Simon Read, for practising the black art.

v. 580. *You have a wrong sow by the ear.*] One of Sancho Pan-cha's proverbial expressions. "He that thinks to grunt at me, has a wrong sow by the ear." Don Quixote, vol. ii. chap. xx. p. 249.

But if it be, 'tis ne'er the near,  
 580 You have a wrong fow by the ear:  
 For I assure you, for my part,  
 I only deal by rules of art;  
 Such as are lawful, and judge by  
 Conclusions of astrology:  
 585 But for the devil, know nothing by him,  
 But only this, that I defy him.  
 Quoth he, Whatever others deem ye,  
 I understand your metonymy:

v. 581, 582. *For I assure you, for my part,—I only deal by rules of art.*] Gassendus observes (see *Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, p. 136), "That Heminga, a modern, having proposed thirty eminent nati-  
 vities, and reduced them to strict examination, according to the  
 best rules of art, he declared, that the experiments did by no  
 means agree with the rules, sad events befalling such as were  
 born under the most happy and promising positions of heaven;  
 and good befalling such as the heavens frowned upon, and threat-  
 ened all the ruin and mischief unto that can be imagined: and  
 therefore concluded, that astrologers, when they give judgment of  
 a nativity, are generally the whole heavens wide of the truth." Nay, Cardan himself owned (See Gassendus's *Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, p. 159), "That, of forty things, scarce ten happened right."

v. 584. *Conclusions of astrology.*] Mr. Ward, rhetoric professor of Gretham college [see his *Lives of the Professors*, p. 126], in-  
 forms us, that the learned Mr. Gataker desiring Mr. Henry Briggs,  
 the first geometry professor of that college, to give him his judg-  
 ment concerning judiciary astrology, his answer was, "That he  
 conceived it to be a mere system of groundless conceits." And Mr.  
 Oughtred calls him the mirror of the age, for his excellent skill  
 in geometry. Tacitus of old has exposed them; see Sir Henry  
 Savile's Translation, vol. iii. book i. p. 44. Kircher speaks con-  
 temptibly of them (*Athanasii Kircheri Itiner. exstatic. in globum  
 Jovis*, p. 213). "Non possum non improbare improbam quorun-  
 dam astrologorum audaciam et temeritatem, qui tam tuto et con-  
 fidenter de fortunâ, et eventibus, tum regnorum, tum nationum  
 secuturis vaticinantur, dum astrologiam infallibilis veritatis re-  
 gulis astringere se posse putant." Wolfius (*Lect. Memor. par. i.*  
 E 3 p. 796)

Your words of second-hand intention,  
 590 Whenthingsbywrongfulnamesyoumention;  
 The mystic sense of all your terms,  
 That are indeed but magic charms,  
 To raise the devil, and mean one thing,  
 And that is down-right conjuring :

p. 796) has given a remarkable account of an astrologer's son at Milan, who was hanged, and thereby had eluded all the rules of his father's art. See the art fully exposed, *Dissertat. Favorini Philosophi adversus eos qui Chaldæi appellantur*; A. Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. xiv. cap. i; Jo. Pici Mirandulæ, lib. vi. tom. i. p. 397; Fra. Valesii, lib. de Sacra Philosophiâ, cap. xxxi; Turkish Spy, vol. viii. book iv. chap. x; Gassendus's Vanity of Judiciary Astrology, passim.; Preface to Dr. Long's Astronomy, p. 5; and Dr. James Young's Sidrophel Vapulans, p. 34, where it is fully exposed by many learned men who had studied that art.

v. 588. *I understand your metonymy.*] Metonymy is a figure in rhetoric, which implies a changing or putting of one name or thing for another; as when the cause is put for the effect, the subject for the adjunct, or contrarily.

v. 592, 593. *That are indeed but magic charms,—To raise the devil,—*] Mottray (Travels, vol. ii. p. 334) seems to dispute the possibility of raising the devil; and endeavours to confirm his opinion by a remarkable story of Baron L——, a Danish prisoner of war, who was confined in one of the prisons of Stockholm, for having been convicted of a design of treating with the devil, for a certain sum of money, which at that time he stood in extreme need of; and to this end, instead of ink, he had with his own blood signed a bond, by which he himself, and some companions of his (who for want of money and credit had signed it in the same manner), firmly and truly made their souls over to the infernal spirit after their deaths, upon condition that he would pay them down that sum: but neither he, nor any of the rest, could compass their desired end, notwithstanding all the pains they took about it; going by nights under gibbets, and in burying-places, to call upon him, and desiring him to trust them; but neither body nor spirit (says he) ever came to treat with them: at last one of them finding the devil would not help him, determined to try what he could do for himself; and having robbed and murdered a man, he was taken up, tried, and executed, and in his confession he owned the transaction and intent. And in Baron L——'s



595 And in itself more warrantable,  
 Than cheat or canting to a rabble,  
 Or putting tricks upon the moon,  
 Which by confed'racy are done.  
 Your ancient conjurers were wont  
 600 To make her from her sphere dismount,

L——'s chamber the bond was found, but torn to pieces, as void,  
 and of none effect.

v. 599, 600. *Your ancient conjurers were wont—To make her from her sphere dismount*] This power was ascribed to them by the heathen poets. Thus Virgil speaks, Bucol. Ecl. viii. 69, 70.

“Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere Lunam:  
 Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssæi.”

“Pale Phœbe, drawn by verse, from heaven descends,  
 And Circe chang'd with charms Ulysses' friends.” Dryd.

And Canidia, the witch in Horace, boasts of her power in this respect:

“Mæque terra cedit insolentiæ,  
 An quæ movere cereas imagines  
 (Ut ipse nosti curiosus) et Polo  
 Diripere Lunam’ ———

Horat. Canid. Epod. xvii. 75, &c.

And the witch in Ovid pretended to the same power:

“Te quoque Luna traho,” &c. Metamorph. vii. 207, &c.

“And thee, Titania, from thy sphere I hail,  
 Though brass resounding thy extremes avail.”

Mr. G. Sandys.

This opinion seems to be sacred by Propertius, in the following lines, lib. i. eleg. i. 19.

“At vos deductæ quibus est fallacia Lunæ,  
 Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis,  
 En agedum Dominæ mentem convertite nostræ,  
 Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis.  
 Tunc ego crediderim vobis, et fidera et amnes  
 Possê Cyteinis ducere carminibus.”

Vide Tibull. de Facinatrice, lib. i. eleg. ii.

The author of this opinion (as Mr. Sandys observes, Notes upon the 7th book of Ovid's Metamorph. p. 144, edit. 1640) was Aglonice, the daughter of Hegemon, “who, being skilful in astronomy, boasted to the Theſſalian women (foreknowing the time of the eclipse) that she should perform it at such a season,

And to their incantations stoop;  
 They scorn'd to pore through telescope,  
 Or idly play at bo-peep with her,  
 To find out cloudy or fair weather,  
 605 Which every almanac can tell  
 Perhaps as learnedly and well  
 As you yourself—Then, friend, I doubt  
 You go the farthest way about.  
 Your modern Indian magician  
 610 Makes but a hole in th' earth to piss in,

which happening accordingly, they gave credit to her deception. Nor is it a wonder, says Vives, that those learned men (namely, Pindarus and Stesichorus) should believe, that the moon was drawn down from heaven, since a sort of men, as we remember, believed an ass had drunk her up; because as she shone in the river where he drank, a cloud on the sudden overthadowed her: For this the ass was imprisoned, and, after a legal trial, immediately ripped up, to let the moon out of his belly, that she might shine out as formerly." Columbus imposed upon the Jamaicans in the same manner, by foretelling an eclipse to happen two days after, which they took for a miracle. Purchase's Pilgrims, vol. v. p. 606.

v. 609, 610. *Your modern Indian magician—Makes but a hole in th' earth to piss in, &c.*] The translator of Torquemeda, entitled, The Spanish Mandeville, fol. 62, gives the following account: "Amongst other things, which are written in the Maleus Maleficarum, you shall find, that the commissioners having apprehended certain forcereffes, willed one of them to shew what she could do, assuring her life on condition, that from thence forward she should no more offend in the like: Whereupon, going out into the fields, in presence of the commissioners and many others, she made a pit in the ground with her hands, making water therein; which being done, she stirred about the urine with one of her fingers, out of which by little and little, after she had made certain characters, and mumbled a few words, there rose a vapour, which ascending upward like a smoke, began to thicken of itself in the midst of the region of the air, gathering and making there a black fearful cloud, which cast out so many thunders and lightnings, that it seemed to be a thing hellish and infernal. The

And straight resolves all questions by't,  
 And seldom fails to be i' th' right.  
 The Rosicrucian way's more sure  
 To bring the devil to the lure.

615 Each of 'em has a several gin,  
 To catch intelligences in :  
 Some by the nose with fumes trepan 'em,  
 As Dunstan did the devil's grannum ;  
 Others with characters and words,  
 620 Catch 'em, as men in nets do birds ;

woman remaining all this while still, asked the commissioners at last, where they would have that cloud discharge a great quantity of stones? They pointing to a certain place, where it could do no hurt, the cloud of a sudden began to move itself with a great furious blustering of winds; and in a short space, coming over the place appointed, discharged a great number of stones, like a violent shower, directly within the compass thereof." See Travels of Le Blanc, part ii. chap. xxiii. p. 302; and something remarkable, Wolfii Lection. Memorab. par. i. p. 278; and other stories of this kind, with a confutation, Scot's Disc. of Witchcraft, chap. xiii. p. 60.

v. 617, 618. *Some by the nose with fumes trepan 'em,—As Dunstan did the devil's grannum.*] St. Dunstan was made Archbishop of Canterbury anno 961. His skill in the liberal arts and sciences (qualifications much above the genius of the age he lived in) gained him first the name of a conjurer, and then of a saint. He is revered as such by the Romanists, who keep an holiday, in honour of him, yearly on the 19th of May. The monkish writers have filled his life with romantic stories, and among the rest with this mentioned by our poet: He was (say they) once tempted to lewdness by the devil, under the shape of a fine lady; but, instead of yielding to her temptations, he took the devil by the nose with a pair of red hot tongs. See English Martyrology, by a catholic priest, 1608, p. 244; Wheatley's Rational Illustrat. fol. edit. p. 66; Winstanley's England's Worthies, p. 25.

v. 619. *Others with characters and words, &c.*] See Chaucer's third Book of Fame, Works, 1602, fol. 267; Webster's Displaying of supposed Witchcraft, chap. xvii. p. 321, &c.

v. 627,



And some with symbols, signs, and tricks,  
 Engrav'd in planetary nicks,  
 With their own influences will fetch 'em  
 Down from their orbs, arrest, and catch 'em;  
 625 Make 'em depose and answer to

v. 627, 628. *Bumbastus kept a devil's bird—Shut in the pommel of his sword.*] Naudæus (in his *History of Magic*, translated by Davies, chap. xiv. p. 185) observes of this familiar spirit, "that though the alchymists maintain, that it was the secret of the philosopher's stone, yet it were more rational to believe that if there was any thing in it, it was certainly two or three doses of his laudanum, which he never went without, because he did strange things with it, and used it as a medicine to cure almost all diseases."

Paracelsus had such an opinion of his own chemical nostrums, that he gloried he could make men immortal by the philosopher's stone, potable gold, and other arcana; and yet he himself died at the age of forty-seven. Vide *Arcana Paracelsi Op.* Van Helmont, p. 479; Sir Tho. Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book iii. ch. xii; Wolfii *Lectio. Memorab. par. ii. p. 284, 285.*

Paracelsus was called Aurelius, Philippus, Paracelsus, Theophrastus, Bombastus, de Hohenhiem. He was born at the village of Einsidlen, two German miles distant from the Helvetic Tigurum, now called Zurich. It is said, that for three years he was a sow gelder. His father, William Hohenhiem (a base child of a Master of the Teutonic Order), not only left him a collection of rare and valuable books, but committed him first to the care of Trimethius, Abbot of Spanheim, and afterwards to Sigismund Fugger, of Zurich, famous for his chemical arcana. According to his own account, he visited all the universities of Europe; and at twenty years of age had searched into the mines of Germany and Russia, till at last he was taken prisoner by the Tartars, and by them sent to Constantinople. In his travels he obtained a collection of the most sovereign remedies for all distempers, from doctors of physic, barbers, old women, conjurers, and chemists; and was afterwards employed as a doctor and surgeon in armies, camps, and sieges. He signalized himself at first by a rash inconsiderate use of mercury and opium in the cure of the leprosy, pox, ulcers, and dropsies. The efficacy of mercury was not at that time well understood; and according to the then opinion, opium being cold in the fourth degree, the use of it, through fear, was  
 6 very

All questions, ere they let them go.  
 Bumbastus kept a devil's bird  
 Shut in the pommel of his sword,  
 That taught him all the cunning pranks  
 630 Of past and future mountebanks.  
 Kelly did all his feats upon  
 The devil's looking-glass, a stone ;

very much neglected ; inasmuch that, by his rashness and boldness in the use of these, he performed many cures, which the regular physicians could not do : Amongst which that on Frobenius of Basil was the most remarkable ; for, through his interest, he was invited by the magistrates of that place to read public lectures in physic and philosophy ; where he soon ordered the works of Galen and Avicenna to be burnt, declaring to his auditors at the same time, that if God would not assist him, he would advise and consult with the devil. Vide Zwinger's *Theatrum*, page 227 ; Boerhaave's *Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 22 ; Collier's *Dict.* (Mr. M.) Probably from his affected language, swelling and blustering nonsense, came the word *bombast*.

v. 631, 632. *Kelly did all his feats upon—The devil's looking-glass, a stone.*] This Kelly was chief seer (or as Lilly calls him, Speculator) to Dr. Dee, *Life*, p. 99 ; was born at Worcester, and bred an apothecary, and was a good proficient in chemistry, and pretended to have the grand elixir (or philosophers stone) which Lilly in his *Life* (p. 101) tells us he made, or at least received ready made from a friar in Germany, on the confines of the Emperor's dominions. He pretended to see apparitions in a chrystal or beryl looking-glass (or a round stone like a chrystal). Alasco Palatine of Poland, Pucel a learned Florentine, and Prince Rosemberg of Germany, the Emperor's Viceroy in Bohemia, were long of the society with him and Dr. Dee, and often present at their apparitions, as was once the King of Poland himself : But Lilly observes, that he was so wicked, that the angels would not appear to him willingly, nor be obedient to him. *Life*, p. 101.

Wever (*Funeral Monuments*) allows him to have been a chemist, that he lost his ears at Lancaster, and raised a dead body in that country by necromancy : That Queen Elisabeth sent for him out of Germany ; but climbing over a wall at Prague, where it is reported he was imprisoned for a chemical cheat put on the Emperor, he broke his legs, and bruised himself so that he died soon after. He offered to raise up devils before Alasco, June 19, 1581.

His

Where playing with him at bo-peep,  
He solv'd all problems ne'er so deep.

635 Agrippa kept a Stygian pug,  
I' th' garb and habit of a dog,  
That was his tutor, and the cur  
Read to the occult philosopher,

His spirits told him, 1584, he should die a violent death. Kelly, as I remember, is called Sir Edward by Mr. Ashmole. Qu. Whether Queen Elisabeth knighted him for secret services? (Mr. S. W.) See more of him, Relation of what passed between Dr. Dee and some Spirits, with a preface by Meric Casaubon, 1659, folio, passim; Sir Fra. Bacon's Apophthegms, No. 135; Ashmole's Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, prope finem; Wever's Funeral Monuments, p. 45, 46; Ben Jonson's Alchymist, act iv. sc. i.

v. 632. *The devil's looking-glass.*] Dr. Dee observes (see Appendix Chronic. Johann. Glasston. p. 516) that he shewed his famous glass, and the properties of it, to Queen Elisabeth.

This kind of juggling is mentioned by Fernelius, an eminent physician, (lib i. cap. xi. De abditis rerum causis, p. 111, edit. Genevæ, 1647.) "Vidi quendam, vi verborum spectra varia in speculum derivare, quæ illic quæcunque imperaret, mox aut scriptis, aut veris imaginibus ita dilucide exprimerent, ut prompte et facile ab assidentibus omnia internoscerentur. Audiebantur quidem verba sacra, sed obsœenis nominibus spurce contaminata: cujusmodi sunt elementorum potestates; horrenda quædam et inaudita principum nomina, qui Orientis, Occidentis, Auftri, Aquilonisque regionibus imperant." Vide Wolfii Lection. Memorab. par. post. p. 420. De Johanne Teutonico. See Lilly's Life, p. 50; Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft, book xv. chap. xi. xii. p. 411; Webster's Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft, p. 310.

v. 635. *A Stygian pug.*] Vide Pauli Jovii Elog. Doctor. Virov, p. 187. Carm. (ib.) Baptistæ Posslevini.

" Latomi.

Hunc tumulum haud charites servant,  
Sed Erynnies atræ;  
Non musæ, at sparsis anguibus Eumenides:  
Colligit Alecto Cineres, miscetque aconito,  
Grataque dat Stygio liba voranda Cani.  
Qui quod erat vivum comitatus, atrociter Orci,  
Nunc quoque per cunctas raptat agitque vias:  
Insultatque adeo, et furias quia noverat omneis,  
Salutat, injungit nomine quamque suo.

O miseræ



And taught him subt'ly to maintain

640 All other sciences are vain.

To this, quoth Sidrophello, Sir,  
 Agrippa was no conjurer,  
 Nor Paracelsus, no nor Behmen;  
 Nor was the dog a cacodæmon,

O miseras arteis, quæ solæ ea commoda præstant,  
 Accedat Stygias notus ut hospes aquas."

v. 639, 640. *And taught him subt'ly to maintain—All other sciences are vain.*] Nothing can be more pleasant than this turn given to Agrippa's silly book, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*. (Mr. W.)

v. 644. *Nor was the dog a cacodæmon.*] Paulus Jovius (*Elog. Doctor. Viror. edit. Basil. 1577, p. 187*) gives in to the opinion of Agrippa's being a conjurer, and his dog a cacodæmon. "Excessit e vitâ nondum senex apud Lugdunum, ignobili et tenebroso in diversorio; multis eum tanquam necromantiæ suspicione infamem, execrantibus; quod cacodæmonem nigri canis specie circumduceret: ita ut quum propinquâ morte ad pœnitentiam urgeretur, cani collare loreum magicis per clavorum emblemata inscriptum notis exolverit; in hæc suprema verba irate prorumpens: Abi per-dita bestia, quæ me totum perdidisti: nec usquam familiaris ille canis, ac assiduus itinerum omnium comes, et tum morientis domini desertor, postea conspectus est, quum præcipiti fugæ saltu in Ararim se immerfisse, nec enataſſe ab his, qui id vidisse afferebant, existimetur."

Wierus, who was Agrippa's pupil and domestic, clears him from this heavy charge. He owns that he had a dog and a bitch, named Monsieur and Mademoiselle, which were great favourites; that the dog lay constantly under his bed, and was fed at his table: and as he knew most things that were transacted in foreign nations, the imprudent vulgar ascribed this to his dog, taking him to be a dæmon. But he observes, that in truth he corresponded with learned men in all nations, and daily received his intelligence from them. *De Præstig. Dæmon. lib. ii. cap. v. p. 164.* See *History of Magic, chap. xv. p. 200.* See Glycas's account of Simon Magus's black dog, Heywood's *Hierarchy of Angels, lib. vii. p. 476*; and of two dogs at Salem, accounted cacodæmons, or something as bad, for which they were put to death, Dr. Hutchinson's *Historical Essay of Witchcraft, p. 82*; and Wierus's *Definition of a Cacodæmon, lib. i. cap. xxi.*

- 645 But a true dog that would shew tricks  
 For th' Emperor, and leap o'er sticks;  
 Would fetch and carry, was more civil  
 Than other dogs, but yet no devil;  
 And whatso'er he's said to do,
- 650 He went the self-same way we go.  
 As for the Rosicross philosophers,  
 Whom you will have to be but forcerers,  
 What they pretend to is no more  
 Than Trismegistus did before,
- 655 Pythagoras, old Zoroaster,  
 And Apollonius their master;  
 To whom they do confess they owe

v. 655. — *old Zoroaster.*] The King of the Bactrians of that name, who was slain by Ninus, or Semiramis, has been commonly reputed the first inventor of magic. But Dr. Howel (see Institution of General History, part i. book i. chap. ii. p. 12) is of opinion, that Zoroastres the magician lived many years after this King of the Bactrians. Fabricius thinks it a difficult matter to adjust the time in which he lived, there being several of that name. Biblioth. Græc. tom. i. lib. i. cap. xxxvi. p. 243. Vide Ammiani Marcellini Rerum Gestar. lib. xxiii. p. 374; Menagii Observat. in Diogenem Laertium, lib. i. edit. Paris. 1681; Jo. Pici Mirandul. in Astrolog.; Sir Walter Raleigh's Hist. of the World, edit. 1614, p. 170; Dr. Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels, p. 469; Dean Prideaux's Connect. &c. part i. book iv. p. 167, folio edit.; Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 36, &c.; Hearne's System of Universal History, vol. i. p. 398; Turkish Spy, vol. iv. book iv. chap. ix; Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay, p. 13.

v. 656. *And Apollonius their master.*] Apollonius Tyanæus's life was written by Philostratus and Damis. Vide Stephani Thef. Linguae Latinæ, Lewis's History of the Parthian Empire, p. 237, &c. He was a great magician; and some heathens, in spite to Christianity, affirm, that his miracles were as great as those of Christ and his apostles. See a remarkable account of him, Fleury's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 70, 71, 101, 111, 148, 154, 155; Wier. de Præfig. Dæmon. lib. ii. cap. iii. xi; Dr. Meric Casaubon's

All that they do, and all they know.

Quoth Hudibras, Alas! what is't us,  
 660 Whether 't was said by Trismegistus,  
 If it be nonsense, false, or mystic,  
 Or not intelligible, or sophistic?  
 'Tis not antiquity, nor author,  
 That makes truth truth, altho' time's daugh-  
 665 'Twas he that put her in the pit, [ter;  
 Before he pull'd her out of it:  
 And as he eats his sons, just so  
 He feeds upon his daughters too:  
 Nor does it follow, 'cause a herald  
 670 Can make a gentleman, scarce a year old,

bon's Preface to Dr. Dee's book of Spirits. He lived in the days of Domitian and Adrian. Vide Suidæ Lex. Fabricii Bibliothec. Græc. lib. iv. cap. xxiv. lix. See a long list of magicians, Turkish Spy, vol. vii. book iii. letter v.

v. 665, 666. *'Twas he that put her in the pit,—Before he pull'd her out of it.*] This satire is fine and just. Cleanthes said, that truth was hid in a pit. Yes (says our author), but you Greek philosophers were they who first put her there, and then claimed to yourselves so much merit in drawing her out again. The first Greek philosophers extremely obscured truth by their endless speculations; and it was the pretended business of their successors to clear up matters. This does honour to our author's knowledge of antiquity. (Mr. W.)

v. 667, 668. *And as he eats his sons, just so—He feeds upon his daughters too.*] Chronus is said, by the mythologists, to have devoured his sons. Truth is said to be the daughter of Time; which Time is called by the Greeks Chronus, and so he may be said to eat his daughters. (Mr. W.)

v. 669, 670, 671, 672. *Nor does it follow, 'cause a herald—Can make a gentleman, scarce a year old,—To be descended of a race—Of ancient kings in a small space.*] A sneer upon the mock gentry of those times, who, as they increased in riches, thought proper to lay claim to pedigrees to which they had no right.

“Cornelius



To be descended of a race  
 Of ancient kings in a small space,  
 That we should all opinions hold  
 Authentic that we can make old.

675 Quoth Sidrophel, It is no part  
 Of prudence to cry down an art;  
 And what it may perform deny,  
 Because you understand not why,  
 (As Averrhois play'd but a mean trick,  
 680 To damn our whole art for eccentric)

" Cornelius Holland, a servant of the Vanes, got so much wealth, as to make him saucy enough to hire William Lilly, and other pamphleteers, to derive his pedigree from John Holland Duke of Exeter, although it be known he was originally a link-boy." Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 26, 27.

Such gentry were Thomas Pury the elder, first a weaver in Gloucester, then an ignorant solicitor (History of Independency, part i. p. 167); John Blackston, a poor shopkeeper of Newcastle (id. ib. p. 169); John Birch, formerly a carrier, afterwards a colonel (ib. p. 171); Richard Salway, colonel, formerly a grocer's man (id. ibid.); Thomas Rainborough, a skipper of Lynn, colonel and vice-admiral of England (id. ib.); Colonel Thomas Scot, a brewer's clerk (ibid. p. 173); Colonel Philip Skippon, originally a waggoner to Sir Fra. Vere (see an account of his rise, History of Independency, part i. p. 116, 117); Colonel J. Jones, a serving man (Bate's Lives of the Regicides, p. 22); Colonel Barkstead, a pitiful thimble and bodkin goldsmith (History of Independency, part ii. p. 155); Colonel Pride, a foundling and drayman (History of Independency, part ii. p. 252); Colonel Hewson, a one-eyed cobbler; and Colonel Harrison, a butcher. These and hundreds more affected to be thought gentlemen, and lorded it over persons of the first rank and quality.

" Do you not know, that for a little coin,  
 Heralds can foist a name into the line?"

Dryden's Hind and Panther.

This practice of the heralds is bantered by Sir Richard Steele, (in his Mock Funeral, or Grief Alamode) where he introduces  
 the

For who knows all that knowledge contains?  
 Men dwell not on the tops of mountains,  
 But on their sides, or rising's seat ;  
 So 'tis with knowledge's vast height.  
 685 Do not the hist'ries of all ages  
 Relate miraculous presages  
 Of strange turns in the world's affairs  
 Foreseen b' astrologers, soothsayers,  
 Chaldeans, learn'd Genethliacs,  
 690 And some that have writ almanacs ?

the servant of Sable the undertaker, expressing himself in the following manner :

" Sir, I had come sooner, but I went to the herald's for a coat for Alderman Gathergrease, that died last night. He has promised to invent one against to-morrow.

*Sable.* Ah, pox take some of our cits; the first thing after their death is to take care of their birth. Pox, let him bear a pair of stockings; for he is the first of his family that ever wore one."

See an account of the Biscayan, Don Quixote, vol. i. book i. chap. viii. p. 71; and of such gentry, Beaumont and Fletcher's play, entitled, Nice Valour, or Passionate Madman, Works, part ii. p. 501.

v. 679, 680. *As Averrhois play'd but a mean trick,—To damn our whole art for eccentric.*] Averrhois was an Arabian physician, surnamed Commentator, who lived at Cordova in Spain, in the year 1140. Vide Naucleri Chronograph. vol. ii. p. 85; Collier's Dictionary. "Averrhoes celeber philosophus, &c. ubique astronomiam lacerat, damnat, infectatur.—Astrologorum opinionem, de coelestibus imaginibus, quibus subesse terrena figuræ similis animalia putant, fabulosam dicit, quâ tamen sublatâ, ruit maxima pars astrologicæ superstitionis: alibi quidem (ait) contraria philosophiæ, alibi fere omnia falsa dogmata astrologorum: tum artem in universum vanam et infirmam." Jo. Pici Mirandulæ in Astrolog. lib. i. tom. i. p. 282. Vide etiam Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandulæ De Rerum Prænotione, lib. v. cap. vi. tom. ii. op. p. 359.

v. 689. *Chaldeans, learn'd Genethliacs.*] Gassendus observes of the Chaldeans (Vanity of Judiciary Astrology, chap. xv. p. 98, edit. London, 1659, from Sextus Empiricus), "That when they  
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The Median Emp'ror dreamt his daughter  
 Had piss'd all Asia under water,  
 And that a vine, sprung from her haunches,  
 O'erspread his empire with its branches :  
 695 And did not soothsayers expound it,  
 As after by the event he found it ?  
 When Cæsar in the senate fell,  
 Did not the sun eclips'd foretel,  
 And, in resentment of his slaughter,  
 700 Look'd pale for almost a year after ?

were to observe the time of an infant's nativity, one Chaldean sat watching on the top of an hill, or other eminent place, not far from the groaning chamber, and attended to the stars; and another remained below with the woman in travail, to give the sign, by ringing a kettle or pan, at the instant of her delivery; which the other taking, observed the sign of the zodiac then rising above the horizon, and accordingly they gave judgment of the infant's fortune; and this if the birth happened in the night: but if in the day, he that sat upon the high place, observed only the motion of the sun." See Gassendus's remarks upon it; and his first and second chapters, and the fourteenth, entitled, *The Genethliacal Part of Astrology examined and exploded*. Sexti Empirici advers. Mathematicos, lib. v. p. 110; Aurelianæ, 1621; Mr. Whiston's Account of the Rise and Progress of Mathematics, prefixed to his Euclid, 1727, p. 5.

v. 691. *The Median Emp'ror dreamt his daughter, &c.*] \* Aftyages, King of Media, had this dream of his daughter Mandane, and the interpretation from the Magi; wherefore he married her to a Persian of mean quality, by whom she had Cyrus, who conquered all Asia, and translated the empire from the Medes to the Persians. Herodot. Clío. lib. i. p. 50 edit. Hen. Stephani.

v. 697. *When Cæsar in the senate fell, &c.*] \* "Fiunt aliquando prodigiosi et longiores solis defectus, quales occiso Cæsare Dictatore, et Antoniano bello totius anni pallore continuo." Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. xxx.

The prodigies and apparitions preceding his death are mentioned by several writers. By Virgil, in his first Georgic:

"Earth, air, and seas with prodigies were sign'd,  
 And birds obscene and howling dogs divin'd —

Blood



Augustus having b' oversight  
 Put on his left shoe 'fore his right,  
 Had like to have been slain that day,  
 By foldiers mutiny'ng for pay.  
 705 Are there not myriads of this sort,  
 Which stories of all times report?  
 Is it not ominous in all countries,  
 When crows and ravens croak upon trees?  
 The Roman senate, when within  
 710 The city walls an owl was seen,

Blood sprung from wells, wolves howl'd in towns by night,  
 And boding victims did the priests affright."

Dryden.

Vide Horatii Carm. lib. i. ii. ad Augustum, cum not. Delphini;  
 Livii Hist. lib. cxvi. cap. xlv. xlv; Plutarch's Life of Julius  
 Cæsar, p 435, 436, 437; Chronic. Chronicor. lib. ii. p. 130;  
 Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar, vol. vi. p. 137; Dr. Middleton's Life  
 of Cicero, vol. ii. Gassendus observes (Vanity of Judiciary Astro-  
 logy, p 136) "That the Chaldeans predicted of Cæsar, Crassus,  
 and Pompey, that each of them should not die but in full old age,  
 but in their houses, but in peace and undistinguished honour; and  
 yet their fates were violent, immature, and tragical."

Kircher pretends to account for the paleness of the sun in the  
 following manner, Itin. Exstatic. in Globum Solis, p. 162. "Hoc  
 unicum tibi persuasum habeas, tanti palloris, ac diminuti lumi-  
 nis in sole causas alias non fuisse, nisi sævas hujus globi tempesta-  
 tes, quibus, eo tempore cataraë solaribus circumquaque reclusis,  
 tanta fumorum, vaporumque copia et multitudo exorta fuit, ut  
 omnem pæne lucem in totius solis faciem inducta eclipsi mortali-  
 bus eriperet: pallor vero contigit ob raritatem vaporum; per quos  
 sol non secus ac per tenuem nubem translucens, abducta nonnihil  
 luce palliditatem necessario incurrit, quam mox ac exuerit serenitas  
 solis sequitur."

v. 701. *Augustus having, &c.*] \* "Divus Augustus lævum sibi  
 prodidit calceum præpostere indutum, quo die seditione militum  
 prope afflictus est." Plin. lib. ii. Vide Sueton. lib. ii. § 29.

v. 709. *The Roman senate, &c.*] \* Romani L. Crassus et C. Ma-  
 rio cons. bubone viso orbem lustrabant. See a remarkable account  
 of an owl that disturbed Pope John XXIV. at a council held at  
 Rome, Fascicul. Rer. Expetendar. & Fugiendar. p. 402, Browne's  
 edit.

- Did cause their clergy, with lustrations,  
 (Our synod calls humiliations)  
 The round-fac'd prodigy t' avert  
 From doing town or country hurt ?  
 715 And if an owl have so much power,  
 Why should not planets have much more ?  
 That in a region far above  
 Inferior fowls of the air move,  
 And should see further, and foreknow  
 720 More than their augury below ?  
 Though that once serv'd the polity  
 Of mighty states to govern by ;

v. 719, 720, 721, 722. ————*and foreknow—More than their augury below ?—Though that once serv'd the polity—Of mighty states to govern by.*] The Grecians and Romans were superstitiously governed by auguries. See his Grace of Canterbury's *Antiquities of Greece* as to the former; and Dr. Kennet's *Roman Antiquities*, and Dr. Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 552, &c. as to the latter.

v. 727, 728. *Have we not lately, in the moon,—Found a new world, to th' old unknown ?*] “The fame of Galileo's observations excited many others to repeat them, and to make maps of the moon's spots: Among the rest, Langrenus the King of Spain's cosmographer, and Hevelius, consul of Dantzick, were the most diligent to fit their maps for astronomical uses: It was necessary to give names to the most remarkable spots and regions. Langrenus called them by the names of the most noted mathematicians, philosophers, and patrons of learning: But Hevelius pretending great difficulty in a just distribution of the land, in proportion to the merits of the learned, abolished their received grants and titles, and called them by the geographical names of places on earth, without the least resemblance in their shapes and situations: This vanity of his has embarrassed the lunar region with a double nomenclature.” See Dr. Smith's *Complete System of Optics*, vol. ii. book iv. chap. ii. p. 426; *Introduct. ad Veram Physicam*, a Joanne Keyl, M. D. lect. x. p. 118. edit. 1721. See Dr. Hook's *Micrograph. observ.* lx. p. 242, &c.: “*Lucidæ illæ lunaris globi plagæ, nihil aliud sunt quam terrestrium portionum eminentiores*

- And this is what we take in hand  
 By powerful art to understand;  
 725 Which, how we have perform'd, all ages  
 Can speak the events of our presages.  
 Have we not lately, in the moon,  
 Found a new world, to th' old unknown?  
 Discover'd sea and land, Columbus  
 730 And Magellan could never compass?  
 Made mountains with our tubes appear,  
 And cattle grazing on 'em there?  
 Quoth Hudibras, You lie so ope,  
 That I, without a telescope,

nentiores regiones: Fascæ, aut maria aut lacus exhibent: nigræ vero aut umbras montium, aut luci inaccessas vallium profunditates, cavitatesque indicant: quod vel inde apparet, quod sol quanto supra horizontem lunarem juxta phases ascenderit altius, tanto obscuriusculas hujusmodi plagas magis magisque illustratas videas donec in miridie, qui sit tempore oppositionis solis et lunæ; videlicet in plenilunio prorsus evanescant." Athanasii Kircheri *Iter. Exstaticum in Lunam*, 1656, p. 80. Ben Jonson says, in banter of this opinion, see *Works*, 1640, vol. i. p. 41, "Certain and sure news, news from the new world discovered in the moon, of a new world, and new creatures in that world, in the orb of the moon, which is now found to be an earth inhabited, with navigable seas and rivers, variety of nations, politics and laws, with havens cut, castles, port towns, inland cities, boroughs, hamlets, fairs and markets, hundreds and wapentakes, forests, parks, coney grounds, meadows, pasture, what not?" See the *Cure of Melancholy*, by Democritus Junior, concerning the planets being inhabited, p. 254.

v. 729, 730. *Discover'd sea and land, Columbus—And Magellan could never compass.*] See an account of Columbus and Magellan, Collier's Dictionary; Lediard's Naval History, vol. i. p. 76. 96; Chronic. Jo. Glastonienf. a Tho. Hearne, p. 552; Linschoten's Voyages, part ii. p. 264; Purchas's Pilgrims, part i. book ii. chap. i. sect. iv. vol. v. book viii; Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 499; Turkish Spy, vol. v. book iii. letter ix.



- 735 Can find your tricks out, and descry  
 Where you tell truth, and where you lie :  
 For Anaxagoras long agon,  
 Saw hills as well as you i' th' moon :  
 And held the sun was but a piece  
 740 Of red hot ir'n, as big as Greece ;  
 Believ'd the heavens were made of stone,  
 Because the sun had voided one :  
 And, rather than he would recant  
 Th' opinion, suffer'd banishment.
- 745 But what, alas! is it to us,  
 Whether i' th' moon men thus or thus  
 Do eat their porridge, cut their corns,  
 Or whether they have tails or horns ?  
 What trade from thence can you advance,  
 750 But what we nearer have from France ?  
 What can our travellers bring home,  
 That is not to be learnt at Rome ?

v. 737. *For Anaxagoras long agon.*] See Dr. Wilkins's *Discovery of a new World of the Moon*, prop. ix. p. 95, 4th edit.

v. 739, 740. *And held the sun was but a piece—Of red hot ir'n, as big as Greece.*] See various opinions concerning the bigness of the sun enumerated by the commentator upon Creech's *Lucretius*, book v. p. 489, edit. 1714; Dr. Derham's *Astro-theology*. Its distance from the earth is computed by Dr. Harris (see *Astronomical Dialogues*, p. 75) to be seventy or eighty millions of miles, and its diameter, or breadth from one side to the other, about eight hundred thousand miles, which is above an hundred thousand times greater than the diameter of our earth: and therefore the bulk or rather quantity of matter in the sun must exceed that of the earth above an hundred millions of times (p. 76).

v. 741, 742. *Believ'd the heavens was made of stone,—Because the sun had voided one.*] Vide Diogenis Laertii *Anaxagor.* lib. ii. segm.

- What politics, or strange opinions,  
 That are not in our own dominions?  
 755 What science can be brought from thence,  
 In which we do not here commence?  
 What revelations, or religions,  
 That are not in our native regions?  
 Are sweating lanthorns, or screen-fans,  
 760 Made better there, than th' are in France?  
 Or do they teach to sing and play  
 O' th' guittar there a newer way?  
 Can they make plays there, that shall fit  
 The public humour, with less wit?  
 765 Write wittier dances, quainter shows,  
 Or fight with more ingenious blows?  
 Or does the man i' th' moon look big,  
 And wear a huger periwig,  
 Shew in his gait, or face, more tricks  
 770 Than our own native lunatics?

segm. x. xi. xii. See a banter upon the prodigy of raining stones, Barclay's *Argenis*, lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 133, 4to. edit.

v. 759. *Are sweating lanthorns or screen-fans.*] Screen-fans are made of pasteboard, straw, feathers, or some such light materials, and are often hung up by chimneys, to be used occasionally for defending the face or eyes from the fire. (Mr. B.)

v. 763. *Can they make plays there, &c.*] (See Cervantes's *Life* by Mr. Jarvis, prefixed to his translation of *Don Quixote*, p. 30, 31). Mr. Warburton is of opinion, that the plays here mentioned are those which were after satirized by the *Rehearsal*. This may be true with regard to some: but Mr. Dryden, the principal person satirized in that play, stands clear; for his first play, the *Wild Gallant*, was first published in 1668 or 1669 (see his *Life*, *General Historical Dictionary*, p. 678), and these lines under consideration were published in the year 1664.

v. 767, 768. *Or does the man i' th' moon look big,—And wear a*  
 F 4 *huger*

But if w' out-do him here at home,  
 What good of your design can come ?  
 As wind i' th' hypocondries pent,  
 Is but a blast if downward sent ;  
 775 But if it upward chance to fly,  
 Becomes new light and prophecy :  
 So when your speculations tend  
 Above their just and useful end,  
 Although they promise strange and grea  
 780 Discoveries of things far fet,

*huger periwig.*] A banter, probably, upon the French : for in 1629 is reckoned the epocha of long perukes : at which time they began to appear at Paris, whence they spread by degrees throughout the rest of Europe. Chambers's Cyclopædia, (see *Peruke*.)

v. 770. *Than our own native lunatics.*] A sneer probably upon the then lunatic house of commons, who were literally taken for madmen by a country bumkin : He, desiring to see Bedlam, was carried to the house of commons ; and peeping in at the lobby by his friend's direction, and seeing the members in a hurry, attended with great noise, as was usual in those times, he scoured off at the sight, with an outcry all the way as he went, That the madmen were broke loose. L'Étrange's Fables, part ii. fab. 165.

v. 773, 774. *As wind i' th' hypocondries pent—Is but a blast, if downward sent.*] This alteration by the merry writer of a tract entitled *The Benefit of F—t—g* explained.

Is but a f—t, if downward sent,

which he defines (p. 9) to be “a nitro-aerial vapour, exhaled from an adjacent pond of stagnant water of a saline nature, and rarified and sublimed into the nose of a microcosmical alembic by the gentle heat of a stercoraceous balneum, with a strong empyreuma, and forced through the posteriors by the compressive power of the expulsive faculty.”

Which thought was probably borrowed from a book, entitled, *Facetiæ Facietiarum : hoc est, Joco-seriorum Fasciculus novus, Pathopoli, 1657, p. 42*, where is the following question and answer.

“An peditus arte chemica distillari possit, ita et educatur quinta peditum essentia? Resp. Maxime ; sed cum spiritus sint, idcirco



- They are but idle dreams and fancies,  
 And favour strongly of the Ganzas.  
 Tell me but what's the natural cause,  
 Why on a sign no painter draws  
 785 The full-moon ever, but the half,  
 Resolve that with your Jacob's staff;  
 Or why wolves raise a hubbub at her,  
 And dogs howl when she shines in water?  
 And I shall freely give my vote,  
 790 You may know something more remote.

circo recipiente amplo, quali utuntur in oleo vitrioli, et podice arête applicato, excipiendi sunt magnâ copiâ; deinde condensandi in oleosam substantiam, sive balsamum: Qui postea per circulationem in sole perfici debet, et fiet quinta essentia maximarum facultatum." See *Hypocondriac Regions*, Quincy's and Blanchard's *Physical Dictionaries*, and Bailey.

v. 775, 776. *But if it upward chance to fly,—Becomes new light and prophecy.*] "Quando intro conduntur, et revolvuntur, vel occluduntur, flatus illi caput replent, et propter exhalationum multitudinem imaginationem corrumpunt, melancholicos, phreniticos, faciunt; aliisquæ gravissimis morbis hominem implicant." Facet. Facietiar. &c. De Peditu, ejusque speciebus, p. 35.

v. 782. *And favour strongly of the Ganzas.*] Gonzago (or Domingo Gonzales) wrote a voyage to the moon, and pretended to be carried thither by geese, in Spanish Ganzas. (Mr. W.) See an epitome of his romance, *Turkish Spy*, vol. v. book ii. chap. xi.

v. 786. *Resolve that with your Jacob's staff.*] A mathematical instrument for taking heights and distances. (See Chambers's *Cyclopædia*.)

"Reach then a soaring quill, that I may write,  
 As with a Jacob's staff to take her height."

Cleveland's Hecatomb to his Mistress, p. 11.

See a remarkable account of an astrologer at the King of Spain's court, who, without the help of this instrument, with the naked eye, could nearly take heights, *Lady's Travels*, &c. 5th edition, part iii. p. 251.

v. 787. *Or why wolves raise a hubbub at her.*]

———"Et alte

Per noctem resonare, lupis ululantibus, urbes."

Virg. Georg. lib. i. 485, 486.

"Now

At this deep Sidrophel look'd wife,  
 And staring round with owl-like eyes,  
 He put his face into a posture  
 Of sapience, and began to bluster:  
 795 For having three times shook his head,  
 To stir his wit up, thus he said:  
 Art has no mortal enemies  
 Next ignorance, but owls and geese;  
 Those consecrated geese in orders,  
 800 That to the capitol were warders:

" Now the hungry lion roars,  
 And the wolf howls the moon "

Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act v.  
 vol. i p. 146. See Mr. Warburton's note.

" Pray you no more of this, 'tis like the howling of Irish wolves  
 against the moon." Shakespeare's *As you like it*, vol. ii. p. 260.  
 See Fletcher's *Fair Shepherdess*.

v. 793, 794. *He put his face into a posture—Of sapience, and began to bluster.*] Much like this contrast was that between Sir Samson Legend and old Foresight Congreve's *Love for Love*, act ii. sc. 5), when they were treating of a match between Ben, the son of Sir Samson, and Miss Prue, old Foresight's daughter. Sir Samson talking in a romantic strain, and calling Foresight Brother Capricorn, " Capricorn in your teeth (says Foresight), thou modern Mandeville. Ferdinando Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude. Take back your paper of inheritance; send your son to sea again. I'll wed my daughter to an Egyptian mummy, ere she shall incorporate with a contemner of science and defamer of virtue."

v. 797, 798 *Art has no mortal enemies—Next ignorance——*]  
 " Et quod vulgo aiunt artem non habere inimicum nisi ignorantem. Plane teste Livio, miraculum literarum res nova, imo plerumque exosa est inter rudes artium homines." Nic. Reusner. *Symbolor. Imperator.* class. i. symbol. lxiv. p. 136.

\* Thou hit't the nail in all things right, but O the boore!  
 That castriff kerne, so stout, so stern, ill thrive he evermore:  
 That capt thee for a bunch of grapes, ten thousand tivals sup-  
 plant him,  
 I see well science hath no foeman, nisi ignorantem."

Rob. Riccomontanus's *Panegy. Verses upon T. Coryat.*  
 v. 799,

And being then upon patrol,  
 With noise alone beat off the Gaul:  
 Or those Athenian sceptic owls .  
 That will not credit their own souls!  
 805 Or any science understand,  
 Beyond the reach of eye or hand ;  
 But meas'ring all things, by their own  
 Knowledge, hold nothing's to be known :  
 Those wholesale critics, that in coffee-  
 810 Houses, cry down all philosophy,

v. 799, 800. *Those consecrated geese in orders,—That to the capitol were warders.*] The capitol was saved by the cackling of the geese, when besieged by Brennus the Gaul; Livii Histor. lib. v. cap. xlvii. vol. i. p. 388, ed. J. Clerici. See J. Taylor's Goose. The Romans, in memory of this, ever after fed geese in that place at the public charge, by whose image they represented safe custody. See Mr. Sandys's notes on the ninth book of Ovid's Metamorphosis, p. 217; J. Taylor's Goose, Works, p. 109; Montaigne's Essays, vol. ii. chap. xi. p. 154; Notes on Creech's Lucretius, book iv. p. 366. See an account of Socrates swearing by a goose, Menagii Observat. in Diogen. Laertium, segm. 40; and a humorous poem, entitled, Upon a late Order for shooting the Geese in the Parks about St. James's, Miscell. Poems, published by D. Lewis, 1730, p. 305.

v. 803. *Or those Athenian sceptic owls.*] The owl was sacred to Minerva, and called the bird of Athens.

“ Fast by the crow the bird of Pallas sat,  
 In silent wonder, both suspend their hate.”

Mr. Fenton's notes upon Waller, p. 4.

See Mr. Gay's fable of Two Owls and a Sparrow.

The owl was in high esteem with the Tartars. The reason was this: One of their kings, named Chungius Chan (a great favourite), being pursued by his enemies, hid himself in a bush, whither they came to seek him; an owl flying out of it, they desisted from further search. Hence, in gratitude, they wear in their helmets owls feathers. See Voyage, &c. of Sir John Maundeville, chap. xxi; Purchas's Pilgrims, part iii. lib. i. p. 112; Fuller's History of the Holy War, book iv. chap. i. p. 169.



- And will not know upon what ground  
 In nature we our doctrine found,  
 Although with pregnant evidence  
 We can demonstrate it to sense,  
 815 As I just now have done to you,  
 Foretelling what you came to know.  
 Were the stars only made to light  
 Robbers and burglars by night?  
 To wait on drunkards, thieves, gold finders,  
 820 And lovers solacing behind doors,  
 Or giving one another pledges  
 Of matrimony under hedges?  
 Or witches simpling, and on gibbets  
 Cutting from malefactors snippets?  
 825 Or from the pillory tips of ears  
 Of rebel-faints and perjurers?  
 Only to stand by, and look on,  
 But not know what is said or done?

v. 817. *Were the stars only made to light, &c.*] See Gassendus's *Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, chap. xviii. p. 115.

v. 823, 824. *Or witches simpling, and on gibbets—Cutting from malefactors snippets.*] In the ingredients of the witches charm (Shakespeare's tragedy of *Macbeth*, act iv. vol. v. p. 439) are the following:

“ Nose of Turk, and Tartar's lips,  
 Finger of birth-strangled babe,  
 Ditch-deliver'd by a drab.  
 Make the gruel thick and slab:  
 Add thereto a tiger's chawdron.”

And page 441.

“ 1<sup>st</sup> *Witch*. Pour in sow's blood, that hath eaten  
 Her nine farrow, grease that sweaten  
 From the murderer's gibbet, throw  
 Into the flame.”

“ Hair from the skulls of dying strumpets shorn,  
 And felons bones from rifled gibbets torn,

Like

- Is there a constellation there,  
 830 That was not born and bred up here?  
 And therefore cannot be to learn  
 In any inferior concern.  
 Were they not, during all their lives,  
 Most of 'em pirates, whores, and thieves?  
 835 And is it like they have not still  
 In their own practices some skill?  
 Is there a planet that by birth  
 Does not derive its house from earth?  
 And therefore probably must know  
 840 What is, and hath been done below:  
 Who made the Balance, or whence came  
 The Bull, the Lion, and the Ram?  
 Did not we here the Argo rig?  
 Make Berenice's periwig?  
 845 Whose livery does the coachman wear?  
 Or who made Cassiopeia's chair?

Like those which some old hag at midnight steals,  
 For witchcraft, amulets, and charms, and spells,  
 Are pass'd for sacred to the cheap'ning rout,  
 And worn on fingers, breasts, and ears about."

Oldham's 4th Satire against the Jesuits, 6th edit. p. 75.

See manner of enchanting in Medea's days, Mr. G. Sandys's notes upon the 7th book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*; see likewise Admirable History of a Magician, 4to, London, 1613, p. 352.

v. 829, 830. *Is there a constellation there—That was not born and bred up here?*] For the explanation of this, see the passage of Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology of the Greeks*, p. 83, 84, 85, beginning "Now Chiron delineated," &c. and ending p. 85, at the bottom, "built by the Greeks." (Mr. W.)

v. 844. *Make Berenice's periwig.*] "When Ptolomy Euergetes went on his expedition into Syria, Berenice, his Queen, out of the tender love she had for him, being much concerned because  
 of

And therefore, as they came from hence,  
With us may hold intelligence.

Plato deny'd the world can be

850 Govern'd without geometry,

(For money being the common scale  
Of things by measure, weight, and tale,  
In all th' affairs of church and state,  
'Tis both the balance and the weight:)

855 Then much less can it be without

Divine astrology made out;

of the danger which she feared he might be exposed to in this war, made a vow of consecrating her hair (in the fineness of which, it seems, the chief of her beauty consisted) in case he returned again safe and unhurt; and therefore, upon his coming back again with safety and full success, for the fulfilling of her vow, she cut off her hair, and offered it up in the temple, which Ptolomy Philadelphus had built to his beloved wife Arsinoe, on the promontory of Zephyrium, in Cyprus. But there, a little after, the consecrated hair being lost, or perchance contemptuously flung away by the priests, and Ptolomy being much offended at it, Conon of Samos, a flattering mathematician, then at Alexandria, to salve up the matter, and ingratiate himself with the King, gave out, that this hair was caught up into heaven; and he there shewed seven stars, near the tail of the Lion, not till then taken into any constellation, which he said were the Queen's consecrated hair; which conceit of his other flattering astronomers followed, with the same view, or perchance not daring to say otherwise." Hence Coma Berenices, the hair of Berenice, became one of the constellations, and is so to this day. Prideaux's Connect. part ii. book ii. p. 64, folio edit. 1718. Vide Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandulæ Op. tom. ii. p. 316; Howel's History of the World, vol. i. p. 633; Chambers's Cyclopædia.

*Periwig* put here probably for the sake of the rhyme: Some of the ancient Poets allude to the custom of wearing periwigs, or false hair.

"Fœmina procedit densissima crinibus emptis,  
Proque suis alios efficit ære suos."

Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. iii. 165, 166.



That puts the other down in worth,  
As far as heaven's above the earth.

These reasons (quoth the Knight) I grant  
860 Are something more significant  
Than any that the learned use  
Upon this subject to produce;  
And yet th' are far from satisfactory,  
T' establish and keep up your factory.  
865 Th' Egyptians say, the sun has twice  
Shifted his setting and his rise;

" Jurat capillos esse, quos emit suos  
Fabulla, nunquid illa paule pejerat?"  
Martialis Epigrammat. lib. vi. 12.

" Dentibus atque comis, nec te pudet, uteris emptis,  
Quid facies oculo, Lælia? non emitur."  
Epigram. lib. xii. 23.

v. 845. *Whose liv'ry does the coachman wear.*] Alluding to Charles's wain, seven stars in the constellation Ursa Major, of which Bootes is called the driver.

v. 846. *Or who made Cassiopeia's chair.*] One of the constellations of the northern hemisphere. See Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels, book iii. p. 114; Chambers's Cyclopædia; Bailey's Dict. Dr. Harris has explained this, Astronomical Dialogues, p. 63, 64; and adds, p. 65, " That about the year 1572, there appeared a new star in this constellation, which appeared as big as Jupiter now appears to be, and was fixed to one place, like the rest of the fixed stars; but lessened by degrees, and at last, at the end of eighteen months, went quite out, and appeared no more."

v. 849, 850. *Plato deny'd the world can be—Govern'd without geometry.*] It commonly passes for Plato's saying, *O θεος γεωμετρεῖ.* To this I suppose the author alludes, and by governed, he may mean continued, or preserved in its regular order or motions. (Mr. D.)

v. 865, 866, 867, 868. *The Egyptians say the sun has twice—Shifted his setting and his rise;—Twice has he risen in the west.—As many times set in the east.*] Here the author alludes to a strange story in Herodotus (Euterpe, lib. ii. cap. cxlii.) that the sun in  
the

- Twice has he risen in the west,  
 As many times set in the east:  
 But whether that be true, or no,  
 870 The devil any of you know.  
 Some hold the heavens, like a top,  
 Are kept by circulation up,  
 And were't not for their wheeling round,  
 They'd instantly fall to the ground;  
 875 As sage Empedocles of old,  
 And from him modern authors hold.  
 Plato believ'd the sun and moon  
 Below all other planets run.  
 Some Mercury, some Venus feat  
 880 Above the sun himself in height.  
 The learned Scaliger complain'd  
 'Gainst what Copernicus maintain'd,

the space of 11,340 years, during the reigns of their ancient kings, had altered his course twice, rising where he then set, and setting where he rose. The learned Dr. Long, Master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge (see his *Astronomy*, printed at Cambridge, 1742, p. 277 and 285), says, "that this seems to be only an idle amusing story, invented by the Egyptians, to support their vain pretensions to antiquity, but fit to pass only among persons ignorant of astronomy."

In the Chinese history (*Martinii Historia Sinica*, lib. i. p. 37) it is observed, that in the reign of their seventh Emperor Yao, the sun did not set for ten days successively; and that the inhabitants were afraid of a general conflagration, there being very great fires at that time.

v. 871. *Some hold the heavens, &c.*] \* "*Causa quare cælum non cadit (secundum Empedoclem) est velocitas sui motus.*" *Comment. in lib. ii. Aristot. de Cælo.*

v. 873. *And were't not, &c.*] *And 'twere not*, in the four first editions, altered in edit. 1689.

v. 875. *As sage Empedocles, &c.*] A philosopher of Agrigentum, an epic poet. Vide *Suidæ Lexicon*.

That in twelve hundred years and odd,  
 The sun had left its ancient road,  
 885 And nearer to the earth is come  
 'Bove fifty thousand miles from home :  
 Swore 'twas a most notorious flam,  
 And he that had so little shame  
 To vent such fopperies abroad,  
 890 Deserv'd to have his rump well claw'd :  
 Which Monsieur Bodin hearing, swore  
 That he deserv'd the rod much more,  
 That durst upon a truth give doom,  
 He knew less than the Pope of Rome.  
 895 Cardan believ'd great states depend  
 Upon the tip o' th' bear's tail's end ;  
 That as she whisk'd it t'wards the sun,  
 Strow'd mighty empires up and down :

v. 877. *Plato believ'd, &c.*] \* “ Plato solem et lunam cæteris planetis inferiores esse putavit.” G. Gunnin in *Cosmog.* lib. i. p. 11.

v. 881. *The learned Scaliger, &c.*] \* “ Copernicus in libris revolutionem, deinde Reinholdus, post etiam stadius, mathematici nobiles perspicuis demonstrationibus docuerunt, solis apud terris esse propiorem, quam Ptolemæi ætate duodecim partibus, *i. e.* uno et triginta terræ femidiametris.” Jo. Bod. *Met. Hist.* p. 455.

v. 882. *'Gainst what Copernicus maintain'd.*] After this line, in the first editions of 1664, stand these four, instead of the eight following ones, six of which were added in 1674.

About the sun's and earth's approach,  
 And swore that he, that dar'd to broach  
 Such poultry fopperies abroad,  
 Deserv'd to have his rump well claw'd.

v. 894. *He knew less, &c.*] *He knew no more, &c.* two first editions 1664.

v. 395, 896. *Cardan believ'd great states depend—Upon the tip o' th' bear's tail's end.*] “ Putat Cardanus ab extremâ caudâ Majoris  
 VOL. II. G Urfæ,



Which others say must needs be false,  
 900 Because your true bears have no tails.  
 Some say the zodiac constellations  
 Have long since chang'd their antique stations  
 Above a sign, and prove the same  
 In Taurus now, once in the Ram :  
 905 Affirm the trigons chopp'd and chang'd,  
 The wat'ry with the fiery rang'd,

Urſæ, omne magnum imperium pendere." Jo. Bodini Met. Hiſt. p. 325.

Dr. James Young obſerves (Sidrophel Vapulans, p. 29), that Cardan loſt his life to ſave his credit: for having predicted the time of his own death, he ſtarved himſelf to verify it; or elſe being ſure of his art, he took this to be his fatal day, and by thoſe apprehenſions made it ſo. Gaſſendus adds (Vanity of Judiciary Astrology, chap. xxi. p. 159), that he pretended exactly to deſcribe the fates of his children in his voluminous commentaries, " yet all this while never ſuſpected, from the rules of his great art, that his deareſt ſon ſhould be condemned to have his head ſtruck off upon a ſcaffold by an executioner of juſtice, for deſtroying his own wife by poiſon, in the flower of his youth." See Dr. Long's Preface to his Astronomy, p. 5.

v. 900. *Because your true bears have no tails.*] This is not literally true, though they have very ſhort ones. " Urſis natura caudam diminuit: quod reliquum corpus admodum piloſum." Ariſtot. " Caudæ parvæ vitioſis animalibus, ut urſis." Plin. Vide Conradi Geſneri Hiſtor. Animal. lib. i. p. 1067. The Earl of Leiceſter, when Governor of the Low Countries, uſed to ſign all inſtruments with his creſt, which was the bear and the ragged ſtaff (the coat of the Warwick family, from which he was deſcended), inſtead of his own coat, which was the green lion with two tails: upon which the Dutch, who ſuſpected him of ambitious deſigns, wrote under his creſt, ſet up in public places,

" Urſa caret cauda, non queat eſſe leo."

" The bear he never can prevail  
 To lion it, for want of tail."

Fuller's Worthies of England, Warwickſhire, p. 118.

v. 901. *Some ſay the zodiac conſtellations.*] This and the three following lines interſerted 1674. In the firſt editions of 1664 they ſtand thus:

Some

Then how can their effects still hold  
To be the same they were of old?

This, though the art were true, would make  
910 Our modern soothsayers mistake:  
And is one cause they tell more lies,  
In figures and nativities,  
Than th' old Chaldean conjurers,  
In so many hundred thousand years;

Some say the stars i' th' zodiac,  
Are more than a whole sign gone back  
Since Ptolemy; and prove the same,  
In Taurus now, then in the Ram.

“The zodiac (says Mr. Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, see Sign in *Astronomy*) was divided by the ancients into twelve segments, called signs; commencing from the point of intersection of the ecliptic and equinoctial: which signs they denominated from the twelve constellations, which, in Hipparchus's time, possessed those segments.—But the constellations have since so changed their places by the procession of the equinox, that Aries is now got out of the sign called Aries into Taurus, Taurus into Gemini,” &c.

v. 905. *Affirm the trigons chopp'd and chang'd.*] Vide Wolfii *Lectio. Memorab. Par. Poster.* p. 950, 1043.

Trigon, the joining together of three signs of the same nature and quality, beholding one another in a trine aspect, and counted according to the four elements. (Mr. S. W.)

v. 906. *The wat'ry with the fiery rang'd.*] The watery, I think, are Cancer, Scorpio, and Pisces. The fiery, Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius.

v. 913. *Than th' old Chaldean conjurers.*] Vide Diodori Siculi *Rer. Antiquar. lib. iii. cap. viii*; Jo. Pici Mirandulæ in *Astrolog. lib. i. tom. i. p. 288*. An account of the original and progress of astronomy among the ancients. Notes upon Creech's *Lucretius*, vol. ii. p. 516, 517.

v. 915, 916, 917, 918. *Beside their nonsense in translating,—For want of accidence and Latin,—Like Idus and Calendæ, English'd—The quarter days, by skilful linguist.*] A banter probably upon Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of Horace (as the Reverend Mr. Smith of Harleston observed to me), *Epod. ii. 69, 70*.

- 915 Beside their nonsense in translating,  
 For want of accidence and Latin,  
 Like Idus and Calendæ, English'd  
 The quarter days, by skilful linguist:  
 And yet with canting, flight, and cheat,  
 920 'Twill serve their turn to do the feat:  
 Make fools believe in their foreseeing  
 Of things before they are in being;  
 To swallow gudgeons ere th' are catch'd;  
 And count their chickens ere th' are hatch'd;  
 925 Make them the constellations prompt,  
 And give 'em back their own accompt;  
 But still the best to him that gives  
 The best price for't, or best believes.

" Omnibus relegit Idibus pecuniam,  
 Quærit Calendis ponere."

" At Michaelmas calls all his monies in,  
 And at our Lady, puts them out again."

v. 924. *And count their chickens ere th' are hatch'd.*] See this explained, Bailey's Dictionary, folio ed. under the proverb, *To sell the bear's skin before he is caught*. See the story of Alnaschar in the Persian fable, who was in hopes of raising his fortunes by his crockery-ware, Spectator, No. 535; and the Fable of the milk-maid and milking-pail, Sir Roger L'Estrange's Fables, part ii. fab. 205.

v. 929, 930. *Some towns, and cities, some for brevity—Have cast the versal world's nativity.*] " Lucius Tarutius, Firmanus, familiaris noster, in primis Chaldaicis rationibus eruditus, urbis etiam nostræ, natalem diem repetebat ab iis parilibus, quibus eam a Romano conditam accepimus, Romanque in jugo cum esset luna, natam esse dicebat." Cic. de Divinatione, lib. ii. p. 249, edit. Davis, 1721. (Mr. D.)

v. 936. ——— *law-suits.*——] See Kelway's first book of the Judgment of Nativities, chap. xxx. Of suits and enemies.

v. 939. *Make opposition, trine, and quartile.*] Trine aspect of two planets is, when they are distant from each other 120 degrees,  
 or



Some towns, some cities, some for brevity  
 930 Have cast the verfal world's nativity;  
 And make the infant stars confefs,  
 Like fools or children, what they please.  
 Some calculate the hidden fates  
 Of monkeys, puppy-dogs, and cats:  
 935 Some running nags, and fighting cocks,  
 Some love, trade, law-fuits, and the pox:  
 Some take a measure of the lives  
 Of fathers, mothers, husbands, wives;  
 Make opposition, trine, and quartile,  
 940 Tell who is barren, and who fertile;  
 As if the planet's first aspect  
 The tender infant did infect

or a third part of the zodiac. Quartile aspect of planets is, when they are distant 90 degrees, or three signs from each other. Opposition is, when two planets being distant 180 degrees, behold one another diametrically opposite. (Mr S. W.)

v. 941, 942, 943. *As if the planet's first aspect—The tender infant did infect—In soul and body,——*] This foolish opinion of judicial astrologers is well bantered by Shakespeare (First Part of King Henry IV. act iii. vol. iii. p. 391).

*Glendour.* ————— “ At my nativity  
 The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,  
 Of burning creffets; know, that at my birth  
 The frame and foundation of the earth  
 Shook like a coward.

*Hotspur.* So it would have done  
 At the same season, if your mother's cat  
 Had kitten'd, though yourself had ne'er been born.”

And in King Lear, act i. vol. v. p. 118, 119. *Edmund.* “ This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune (often the forfeit of our own behaviour), we make guilty of our disasters the sun, moon, and stars; as if we were villains on necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion, knaves, thieves, and treacherous by spherical predominance, drunkards, liars, and adul-

In foul and body, and instill  
 All future good, and future ill :  
 945 Which in their dark fatalities lurking,  
 At destin'd periods fall a working ;  
 And break out, like the hidden seeds  
 Of long diseases, into deeds,  
 In friendships, enmities, and strife,  
 950 And all th' emergencies of life :  
 No sooner does he peep into  
 The world, but he has done his do,

terers by inforced obedience of planetary influence ; and all that we are evil by a divine thrusting on."

And this planetary influence is bantered by Torquemada (see Spanish Mandeville, 4th disc. folio 105). " If we say that Mars predominates in men that are strong and valiant, we see many born under this planet that are timorous and of small courage: all those born under Venus are not luxurious, nor all under Jupiter kings and princes, nor all under Mercury cautelous and crafty, neither are all born under the sign of Pisces fishermen;" as does Sextus Empiricus adversus Mathematicos, lib. v. p. 124, 125, &c. edit. 1621. See likewise Dr. Harris's Astronom. Dialogues, p. 79. Remarkable is the account of the death of William Earl of Pembroke, who died, at the age of fifty, upon the day that his tutor Sandford had prognosticated at his nativity. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 46; Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 90. See an account of Thrasyllus's remarkable predictions, Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 820.

v. 951, 952. *No sooner does he peep into—The world, but he has done his do.*] Mr. Warburton observes, that it was the opinion of judicial astrologers, that whatsoever good dispositions the infant unborn might be endowed with, either from nature or traditionally from its parents, yet if at the hour of its birth its delivery was by any casual accident so accelerated or retarded that it fell in with the predominancy of a malignant constellation, that momentary influence would entirely change its nature, and bias it to all contrary ill qualities: This was so wretched and monstrous an opinion, that it well deserved and was well fitted for the lash of satire. See Gassendus's Vanity of Judiciary Astrology, p. 89.

Catch'd all diseases, took all physic  
 That cures or kills a man that is sick ;  
 955 Marry'd his punctual dose of wives,  
 Is cuckolded, and breaks, or thrives.  
 There's but the twinkling of a star  
 Between a man of peace and war,  
 A thief and justice, fool and knave,  
 960 A huffing officer and a slave,  
 A crafty lawyer and pick-pocket,  
 A great philosopher and a block-head,

v. 955. *Marry'd his punctual dose of wives.*] By his *punctual dose*, I suppose, he means the number assigned him by this heavenly influence at his nativity. If it came up to the number four, he might, in the usual phrase, be said to be *shod round*; though that number seems too great to be approved in the Italian proverb, which says, “ *Prima donna, matrimonia; la seconda, compagna; la terza, kessia:*” The first wife is matrimony; the second, company; the third, heresy. Select Proverbs, &c. p. 9.

And yet there are many instances, both ancient and modern, of a great exceeding in this respect. Goufr, the son of Ebrank Mempricias, sixth king of Britain, about the time of Solomon, had twenty wives, of whom he begot twenty sons and thirty daughters, Higden's Polychronicon, translated by Treviza, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. folio 84.

St. Jerome has still a more remarkable account of a couple that married, the man having had twenty wives, and the woman two-and-twenty husbands. The reader, I hope, will excuse me, if I give the story in his own words: (Vide Lib. de Monogamia, tom. i. op. p. 34, edit. Antwerpæ, 1578.) “ *Rem dicturus sum incredibilem, sed multorum testimoniis approbatam.——Vidi duo inter se paria, vilissimorum è plebe hominum comparata, unum, qui viginti sepelisset uxores, alteram, quæ vicefimum secundum habuisset maritum; extremo sibi, ut ipsi putabant, matrimonio copulatis: summa omnium expectatio, virorum pariter ac fœminarum, post tantas rudes quis quem prius efferret: vicit maritus, et totius urbis populus confluyente coronatus; et palmam tenens, adoremque, per singulos sibi acclamantes, uxoris multinubæ fœretum præcedebat.*” Wolfius's account is still more upon the marvellous (Lect. Memorab. Par. Poster. ab Annal. Colon. MS. p. 293): “ *Paganus quidam superioribus vixit seculis, qui uxores*

A formal preacher and a player,  
 A learn'd physician and manslayer:  
 965 As if men from the stars did suck  
 Old age, diseases, and ill-luck,  
 Wit, folly, honour, virtue, vice,  
 Trade, travel, women, claps, and dice;  
 And draw, with the first air they breathe,  
 970 Battle, and murder, sudden death.  
 Are not these fine commodities,  
 To be imported from the skies,

habuit septuaginta septem, ex quibus liberos suscepit plures quinquaginta et trecentos." But the Spanish Mandeville, determining to exceed all that had been said in this respect, mentions one from Herman Lopez de Castaneda, who was 340 years old, and confessed he had had 700 wives, some of which died, and some he had forsaken (see Spanish Mandeville, fol. 26). See a remarkable instance of a person in the hundreds of Essex, who married his wives from the uplands, and by that means had ten in a few years. Heraclitus Ridens, vol. ii. No. 81.

v. 956. *Is cuckolded.*] Vide Skinneri Etymol. Linguae Anglicanae. &c. 1671, sub voc. *Cuckold*. *Cuckolded* in the two first editions of 1664.

lb. ———— *and breaks, or thrives.*] See Kelway's first book Of the Judgment of Nativities, chap. xiii; Of Riches and Poverty, chap. xiv; By what Means Riches and Poverty cometh; and chap. xv. Of the Time when the Riches and Damages shall come.

v. 957. *There's but the twinkling of a star, &c.*] See Kelway's first book Of the Judgment of Nativities, chap. xxi. What Kind of Conditions every Planet doth yield; and chap. xxvii. Of the Action and Profession; and Gassendus's Vanity of Judiciary Astrology, chap. xvii. p. 112.

v. 965. *As if men from the stars did suck——Diseases——*] See Kelway's second book Of the Judgment of Nativities, chap. ii. fol. 33, Of the Signification of the twelve Signs.

v. 970. *Battle, and murder, sudden death.*] Alluding to a deprecation in our litany, objected to by the Dissenters. See it defended by Dr. Bennet, Abridgment of the London Cases, chap. iv. p. 100.

v. 975,



And vended here among the rabble,  
For staple goods and warrantable?

975 Like money by the Druids borrow'd,  
In th' other world to be restor'd?

Quoth Sidrophel, To let you know  
You wrong the art, and artists too,  
Since arguments are lost on those

980 That do our principles oppose;  
I will (although I've don't before)  
Demonstrate to your sense once more,

v. 975, 976. *Like money by the Druids borrow'd—In th' other world to be restor'd.*] \* *Druidæ pecuniam mutuo accipiebant in posteriore vita reddituri.* Patricius, tom. ii. p. 9.

Mr. Purchase (see *Pilgrims*, part iii. lib. ii. p. 270) informs us, "That some priests of Pekin barter with the people upon bills of exchange to be paid an hundred for one in heaven."

v. 990. *Although set down hab-nab at random.*] "Let every man, says Sancho Pancha (*Don Quixote*, vol. iii. chap. iii. p. 30), take care what he talks or how he writes of other men, and not set down at random, hab-nab, higgledy piggedly, whatever comes into his noddle."

Mr. Ray, in his note upon *higgledy piggedly*, one amongst another (*Proverbs*, 2d edit. p. 349), observes, "That we have in our language many the like conceited rhyming words, or reduplications, to signify any confusion or mixture; as *hurly-burly*, *hodge-podge*, *mingle-mangle*, *arsy-verfy*, *kim-kam*, *hub-bub*, *crawley-marwley*, *hab nab*." See Cervantes's account of the poet who pretended to give answers to any manner of questions, *Don Quixote*, vol. iv. chap. lxx.

v. 992, 993. *Discovers how in fight you might—At Kingston—*] It is the pretence of all Sidrophels to ascribe their knowledge of occurrences to their art and skill in astrology. Lilly might either learn this story of the Knight's quarrel in Kingston from common report, or might have been a spectator of it; for he rode every Saturday from his house in Horsham, where he lived (see *Life*, p. 35), to Kingston, to quack amongst the market-people; and yet he would persuade the Knight that he had discovered it from schemes and figures. (Mr. B.)

Mr.

And draw a figure that shall tell you,  
 What you, perhaps, forget befel you,  
 985 By way of horary inspection,  
 Which some account our worst erection.  
 With that he circles draws, and squares,  
 With cyphers, astral characters;  
 Then looks 'em o'er, to understand 'em,  
 990 Although set down hab-nab, at random.

Quoth he, This scheme of th' heavens set,  
 Discovers how in fight you met  
 At Kingston with a may-pole idol, [well,  
 And that y' were bang'd, both back and side

Mr. Butler alludes to the sham Second Part of Hudibras, published 1663, p. 16, in which are the following lines:

" Thus they pass through the market-place,  
 And to Town green hie apace,  
 Highly fam'd for Hocktide games,  
 Yclep'd Kingston upon Thames."

v. 995, 996, 997. *And though you overcame the bear,—The dogs beat you at Brentford fair;—Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle.]*

" They pull down rag, which story told,  
 And as a trophy bear't before  
 Sir Hudibras, and one knight more,  
 To wit, Sir Guill. So on they trot  
 With all the pillage they had got;  
 Greedy of more, but were prevented  
 By butchers stout, that fair frequented,  
 Who seeing squires a quoyle to keep,  
 And men to run faster than sheep;  
 Quoth they (to people), What d'ye fear?  
 There's neither bull got loose, nor bear;  
 And will you seem to make escape  
 From fencing fools, and jackanape  
 On horseback, clad in coat of plush;  
 Yet looks but like a sloe on bush?  
 Keep, keep your ground, we'll force them back,  
 Or may we money never lack.

Then

995 And though you overcame the bear,  
 The dogs beat you at Brentford fair;  
 Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle,  
 And handled you like a fop-doodle.

Quoth Hudibras, I now perceive  
 1000 You are no conj'rer, by your leave:  
 That paultry story is untrue,  
 And forg'd to cheat such gulls as you.

Not true? quoth he, Howe'er you vapour,  
 I can what I affirm make appear;  
 1005 Whachum shall justify't t' your face,  
 And prove he was upon the place:

Then out they Snap and Towser call,  
 Two cunning curs, that would not bawl,  
 But sily fly at throat or tail,  
 And in their course would seldom fail:  
 The butchers hoot, the dogs fall on,  
 The horses kick and wince anon;  
 Down comes spruce valour to the ground,  
 And both Sir Knights laid in a fswound."

Sham Second Part of Hudibras, p. 69, 70.

v. 998. *And handled you like a fop-doodle.*] A silly, vain, empty person. Bailey's Dictionary, folio edit.

v. 1001. *That paultry story, &c.*] \* There was a notorious idiot (that is here described by the name and character of Whachum) who counterfeited a Second part of Hudibras, as untowardly as Captain Po, who could not write himself, and yet made a shift to stand on the pillory for forging other mens hands, as his fellow Whachum no doubt deserved, in whose abominable doggerel this story of Hudibras and a French mountebank at Brentford fair is as properly described.

v. 1002. *And forg'd to cheat such gulls as you.*] Gull, from guiller, to deceive. Bailey's Dictionary.

v. 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008. *Whachum shall justify't t' your face, —And prove he was upon the place:—He play'd the Saltinbancho's part,—Transform'd t' a Frenchman by my art*]

" So

He play'd the Saltinbancho's part,  
 Transform'd t' a Frenchman by my art ;  
 He stole your cloak, and pick'd your pocket,  
 1010 Chous'd and Caldes'd ye like a blockhead,  
 And what you lost I can produce,  
 If you deny it, here i' th' house.

Quoth Hudibras, I do believe  
 That argument's demonstrative ;  
 1015 Ralpho, bear witness, and go fetch us  
 A constable to seize the wretches :  
 For though th' are both false knaves and  
 Impostors, jugglers, counterfeits, [cheats.

“ So on they amble to the place,  
 Where Monsieur spake with a boon grace,  
 Begar me kill you all, and den  
 Prefan make you alive agen :  
 Wi dis me do all de gran cure,  
 De pock, de scab ; de talenture ;  
 Me make de man strong pour de wench,  
 (Then riseth capon from the bench)  
 Look you me now, do you not see  
 Dead yesterday, now live dey be,  
 Four boon, dey leap, dey dance, dey sing,  
 Ma foy, and do de t' oder ting :  
 Begar good medicine do all dis.”

Sham Second Part, p. 37, 38.

v. 1009. *He stole your cloak, and pick'd your pocket.*] Still alluding  
 to the Sham Second Part, p. 63, 64.

“ At last, as if't had been allotted,  
 The Squires ('twas said) were shrewdly potted ;  
 And sleep they must, then down on mat  
 They threw themselves, like cloak and hat ;  
 But subtle quack and crafty crew  
 Slept not, they'd something else to do :——  
 In the mean while quack was not idle  
 (Cunning as horse, had bit o' the bridle) ;  
 The damsel (one that would be thriving)  
 In the Squire's pockets fell to diving.

Their



I'll make them serve for perpendiculars,  
 1020 As true as e'er were us'd by bricklayers.  
 They're guilty by their own confessions  
 Of felony, and at the sessions  
 Upon the bench I will so handle 'em,  
 That the vibration of this pendulum  
 1025 Shall make all taylor's yards of one  
 Unanimous opinion;  
 A thing he long has vapour'd of,  
 But now shall make it out by proof.  
 Quoth Sidrophel, I do not doubt  
 1030 To find friends that will bear me out;

Their cloaks were pack'd up 'mong the luggage  
 (Thus men are serv'd, when they are sluggish),  
 The gates but newly open'd were,  
 All things were hush'd, and coast was clear;  
 And so unseen they huddle out  
 Into the street, then wheel about."——

v. 1010. ——— *Caldes'd you.*] A word of his own coining, and signifies putting the fortune-teller upon you, called Chaldeans or Egyptians. (Mr. W.)

v. 1015, 1016. *Ralpho, bear witness, and go fetch us—A constable to seize the wretches.*] This was not like the mock quarrel between Subtle and Face, in Ben Jonson's *Alchymist* (vol. i. p. 530, edit. 1640).

*Face to Subtle.* "Away this Brach; I'll bring thee, rogue, within the statute of sorcery, tricesimo tertio of Harry VIII; aye, and perhaps thy neck into a noose, for laundring gold, and barbing it."

v. 1024. *That the vibration, &c.*] \* The device of the vibration of a pendulum was intended to settle a certain measure of ells and yards, &c. (that should have its foundation in nature) all the world over: for by swinging a weight at the end of a string, and calculating (by the motion of the sun or any star) how long the vibration would last in proportion to the length of the string, and weight of the pendulum, they thought to reduce it back again, and from any part of time compute the exact length of any string  
 that

Nor have I hazarded my art,  
 And neck, so long on the state's part,  
 To be expos'd i' th' end to suffer,  
 By such a braggadocio huffer.

- 1035 Huffer, quoth Hudibras, this sword  
 Shall down thy false throat cram that word.  
 Ralpho, make haste, and call an officer,  
 To apprehend this Stygian sophister;  
 Mean while I'll hold 'em at a bay,  
 1040 Left he and Whachum run away.

- But Sidrophel, who, from th' aspect  
 Of Hudibras, did now erect  
 A figure worse portending far  
 Than that of most malignant star,  
 1045 Believ'd it now the fittest moment  
 To shun the danger that might come on't,  
 While Hudibras was all alone,  
 And he and Whachum, two to one.  
 This being resolv'd, he spy'd, by chance,  
 1050 Behind the door an iron lance,  
 That many a sturdy limb had gor'd,  
 And legs, and loins, and shoulders, bor'd;

that must necessarily vibrate into so much space of time; so that if a man should ask in China for a quarter of an hour of satin or taffeta, they would know perfectly what it meant, and all mankind learn a new way to measure things, no more by the yard, foot, or inch, but by the hour, quarter, and minute. See experiments concerning the vibrations of pendulums, by Dr. Derham, Philosophical Transactions, vol. iii. No. 440, p. 201.

v. 1066, 1067, 1068. ——— *in the breech,—Just in the place where honour's lodg'd,—As wise philosophers have judg'd.*] Of this opinion





Hogarth del.

Ridley sculp.



He snatch'd it up, and made a pass,  
To make his way through Hudibras.

1055 Whachum had got a fire-fork,  
With which he vow'd to do his work.

But Hudibras was well prepar'd,  
And stoutly stood upon his guard:  
He put by Sidrophello's thrust,

1060 And in right manfully he rush'd;  
The weapon from his gripe he wrung,  
And laid him on the earth along.

Whachum his sea-coal prong threw by,  
And basely turn'd his back to fly;

1065 But Hudibras gave him a twitch  
As quick as light'ning in the breech,  
Just in the place where honour's lodg'd,  
As wise philosophers have judg'd,  
Because a kick in that place more

1070 Hurts honour than deep wounds before.

Quoth Hudibras, The stars determine  
You are my prisoners, base vermine:  
Could they not tell you so, as well  
As what I came to know foretel?

opinion was Shamont, when the Duke of Genoa struck him (see Nice Valour, or the Passionate Madman, act ii. Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, part ii. p. 496): but Lapet the coward was of a different one (see act iii. p. 497).

*Lap.* " I have been ruminating with myself,  
What honour a man loses by a kick:  
Why, what's a kick? the fury of a foot,  
Whose indignation commonly is stamp'd

Upon

- 1075 By this what cheats you are we find,  
 That in your own concerns are blind.  
 Your lives are now at my dispose,  
 To be redeem'd by fine or blows :  
 But who his honour would defile,  
 1080 To take, or sell, two lives so vile ?  
 I'll give you quarter ; but your pillage,  
 The conqu'ring warrior's crop and tillage,  
 Which with his sword he reaps and plows,  
 That's mine the law of arms allows.  
 1085 This said in haste, in haste he fell  
 To rummaging of Sidrophel :  
 First, he expounded both his pockets,  
 And found a watch, with rings and lockets,

Upon the hinder quarter of a man ;  
 Which is a place very unfit for honour,  
 The world will confess so much :  
 Then what disgrace, I pray, does that part suffer  
 Where honour never comes ? I'd fain know that,  
 This being well forc'd and urg'd, may have the power  
 To move most gallants to take kicks in time,  
 And spurn the duelloes out o' th' kingdom ;  
 For they that stand upon their honour must,  
 When they conceive there is no honour lost ;  
 As by a table that I have invented  
 For that purpose alone shall appear plainly ;  
 Which shews the vanity of all blows at large,  
 And with what ease they may be took on all sides,  
 Numb'ring but twice o'er the letters Patience,  
 From P. to E. I doubt not but in small time  
 To see a dissolution of all bloodshed ;  
 If the reformed kick do but once get up."—

v. 1075, 1076. *By this what cheats you are we find,—That in your own concerns are blind.*] Dr. James Young observes (Sidrophel Vapulaus, p. 30), “ That their ignorance in their own affairs, misfortunes, and fates, before they happen, proves them unable to foretel that of other men. Astrologers, says Agrippa, whilst they gaze

Which had been left with him t'ereft  
 1090 A figure for, and fo detect;  
 A copper-plate, with alamanacs  
 Engrav'd upon't, with other knacks,  
 Of Booker's, Lilly's, Sarah Jimmers,  
 And blank schemes to difcover nimmers;  
 1095 A moon dial, with Napier's bones,  
 And feveral conftellation ftones,  
 Engrav'd in planetary hours,  
 That over mortals had ftange powers,  
 To make 'em thrive in law or trade,  
 1100 And ftab or poifon to evade,  
 In wit or wifdom to improve,  
 And be victorious in love.

gaze on the ftars for direction, &c. fall into ditches, wells, and  
 gaols, and, like Thales, become the fport of filly women and flaves.

Astra tibi ætherea pandunt sese omnia vati,  
 Omnibus et quæ sunt fata futura monent;  
 Omnibus, aſt uxor quod ſe tua publicat, id te  
 Astra (licet videant omnia) nulla monent;

was an epigram made by Sir Thomas Moore; and I fancy our  
 Hudibras was as witty upon Sidrophel and Whachum in Engliſh,  
 alluding to theſe two in the four foregoing lines." He then pro-  
 duces abundance of proofs in ſupport of his aſſertion. See Gaſſen-  
 dus's Vanity of Judiciary Aſtrology, p. 157, 158.

v. 1092, 1093. ——— *with other knacks,—Of Booker's, Lilly's,  
 Sarah Jimmers.*] John Booker was born in Manchester, and was a  
 famous aſtrologer in the time of the civil wars (as has been before  
 noted on v. 106). He was a great acquaintance of Lilly's; and  
 ſo was this Sarah Jimmers, whom Lilly calls Sarah Shelhorn, a  
 great ſpeculatrix: He owns he was very familiar with her (quod  
 nota), ſo that it is no wonder that the Knight found ſeveral of  
 their knick-knacks in Sidrophel's cabinet. See Lilly's Life, p. 28,  
 44, 101, 102, 2d edit. 1715. (Mr. B.)

v. 1094. *Nimmers.*] To *nim*, to take by ſtealth, to filch. Bailey.

v. 1100. *And ſtab or poifon to evade.*] Vide Lapidis Pantarbæ oc-  
 cultam vim, Heliodori Æthiop. lib. iv. cap. x. lib. viii. cap. xxii.

Whachum had neither cross nor pile,  
 His plunder was not worth the while;  
 1105 All which the conq'ror did discompt,  
 To pay for curing of his rump.  
 But Sidrophel, as full of tricks  
 As rota-men of politics,  
 Straight cast about to over-reach  
 1110 Th' unwary conq'ror with a fetch,  
 And make him glad (at least) to quit

v. 1108. *As rota-men of politics.*] These rota-men were a set of politicians, the chief of which were James Harrington, Henry Nevil, Charles Wolfeley, John Wildman, and Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Petty, who, in the year 1659 (when the government was continually shifting hands from one to another), met at the Turk's head in New-palace-yard in Westminster, where they were contriving a form of commonwealth the most proper to be erected in England, as they supposed. The model of it was, That a third part of the senate, or parliament, should rote out by ballot every year, and new ones to be chosen in their room; no magistrate to continue above three years, and all to be chosen by ballot. But the King's restoration put an end to this club and all their politics. See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* in the Life of James Harrington, col. 439, edit. 1692; Echard's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 855; Mr. Ward's *History of Gresham College*, p. 220, 221; a song called the Rota, *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii. p. 214, 249.

v. 1113. *Before the secular, &c.*] \* "As the devil is the spiritual prince of darkness, so is the constable the secular, who governs in the night with as great authority as his colleague, but far more impudently."

v. 1115. *And as a fox, &c.*] This simile will bear as strict a scrutiny as that of the owl and the mouse, for it is equally just and natural. Necromancers are as cunning and pernicious as foxes: and if this fox has been hotly pursued by his enemies, so has Sidrophel been as closely attacked by the Knight; and, to save themselves from the impending danger, they both make use of the stratagem of feigning themselves dead. (Mr. B.)

v. 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118. ——— *with hot pursuit,—Chac'd through a warren, casts about—To save his credit, and among—Dead vermin*



His victory, and fly the pit,  
 Before the secular prince of darkness  
 Arriv'd to seize upon his carcass:

1115 And as a fox, with hot pursuit,  
 Chac'd through a warren, casts about  
 To save his credit, and among  
 Dead vermin on a gallows hung,  
 And while the dogs run underneath,  
 1120 Escap'd (by counterfeiting death),

*vermin on a gallows hung.*] This story is told by Sir Kenelm Digby, (*Treatise of Bodies*, chap. xxvi. p. 383; and Sir Roger L'Estrange, part i. fab. cxv.)

A story is told by Plutarch and a certain French author, of a dog in the court of the Emperor Vespasian, who could act to the life all the agonies and symptoms of death, at the command of a mountebank, who had taught him many such comical tricks to divert the grandes of Rome. *Turkish Spy*, vol. iv. book iv. letter vii.

If these stories are to be credited, we need not, I think, boggle at the story of Bomelius's dog at Memphis in Egypt, who played so many tricks upon a stage (*Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 252, 253); at Banks's horse, which played so many remarkable pranks (*Digby, of Bodies*, chap. xxxvii. p. 393; *Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World*, first part, p. 178; *Gayton's Notes upon Don Quixote*, part iv. 289); or the countryman's mare, which shewed so many tricks (*Webster's Display of supposed Witchcraft*, chap. xiii. p. 269); the baboon that played on the guitar (*Digby's Treatise of Bodies*, chap. xxxvii. p. 392); or the ape that played so artfully at chess with his master in the presence of the King of Portugal, and beat him (*Castiglione's Courtier*, Italian and English, in 4to, 1727, book ii. p. 190); or the divining ape at the Great Mogul's court (*Purchas's Pilgrims*, part ii. book iv. p. 587); or the elephant which Bishop Burnet, in his *Travels*, affirms he had seen play at ball; or the showman's hare at Bristol, which bowed to the company with a good grace, and beat several marches upon a drum (*Intelligencer*, No. 13, 1729); or the *Spectator's* rope-dancer, caught in one of the woods belonging to the Great Mogul (see No. 28).

v. 1120. *Escap'd by counterfeiting death.*] It was well that Sir Hudibras escaped upon this occasion the fate of Amurath III.

- Not out of cunning, but a train  
 Of atoms juggling in his brain,  
 As learn'd philosophers give out;  
 So Sidrophello cast about,  
 1125 And fell to's wonted trade again,  
 To feign himself in earnest slain:  
 First stretch'd out one leg, then another,  
 And seeming in his breast to smother  
 A broken sigh, quoth he, Where am I,  
 1130 Alive, or dead; or which way came I  
 Through so immense a space so soon?  
 But now I thought myself in th' moon;  
 And that a monster, with huge whiskers,

Emperor of the Turks; who, after he had won the battle of Cassova, against the Christian princes, viewing the field of battle, and the dead, and telling his grand visier how he had dreamed the night before, that he was slain by the hand of an enemy; a Christian soldier, that concealed himself among the dead, perceiving that it was the Sultan that was talking, with thought of revenging his country, suddenly started up, and plunged a dagger into the Emperor's belly. This happened about the year 1381. See Prince Cantemir's *Growth of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 42.

Falstaff's counterfeiting death, to prevent it in reality, when he fought with young Douglas, was merry enough. Prince Henry seeing him lie upon the field of battle, speaks as follows:

“ Death hath not struck so fat a deer to-day,  
 Though many a dearer in this bloody fray:  
 Embowell'd will I see thee by and by.

*Falstaff rises.*

*Falst.* Embowell'd—If thou embowel me to-day, I'll give you leave to powder me and eat me to-morrow. 'Sblood it was time to counterfeit, or that termagant Scot had paid me scot and lot too. Counterfeit! I lie, I am no counterfeit; to die is to counterfeit; for he is but the counterfeit of a man, who hath not the life of a man: but to counterfeit dying, when a man thereby liveth, is to be no counterfeit, but the true and perfect image of life indeed.

- More formidable than a Switzer's,  
 1135 My body through and through had drill'd,  
 And Whachum by my side had kill'd,  
 Had cross-examin'd both our hose,  
 And plunder'd all we had to lose:  
 Look, there he is, I see him now,  
 1140 And feel the place I am run through;  
 And there lies Whachum by my side  
 Stone dead, and in his own blood dy'd:  
 Oh! Oh! with that he fetch'd a groan,  
 And fell again into a swoon,  
 1145 Shut both his eyes, and stopp'd his breath,  
 And to the life out-acted death;

indeed. The better part of valour is discretion, in the which better part I have saved my life." Shakespeare's First part of Henry IV. act v. vol. iii. p. 434.

v. 1121. *Not out of cunning, &c.*] A ridicule on Sir Kenelm Digby, who relates this story, but, for the maintenance of the hypothesis, pretends there was no thought or cunning in it, but, as our author saith, a train of atoms. (Mr. W.)

v. 1129, 1130. *Quoth he, Where am I,—Alive or dead——*]

"Than gan I wex in were, (to be in doubt.)

And said, I wote well I am here,

Whether in body or in goost, (ghost or spirit.)

I not ywis, but God thou woost."

Second Book of Fame, Chaucer's Works, 1602, fol. 266.

Maria (in the Night-walker, or Little Thief, act ii.) waking from a swoon in a church-yard, cries out, "Mercy defend me! Ha, I remember I was betrayed and swooned, my heart aches, I am wondrous hungry too; dead bodies eat not sure; I was meant for burial; I am frozen; death like a cake of ice dwells round about me; darkness spreads over the world too."

v. 1145, 1146. *Shut both his eyes, and stopp'd his breath,—And to the life out-acted death.*] See the humorous account of the person who counterfeited death, to bring a hypochondriacal person to his senses, who imagined himself dead, laid in a coffin, and would

- That Hudibras, to all appearing,  
 Believ'd him to be dead as herring.  
 He held it now no longer safe,  
 1150 To tarry the return of Ralph,  
 But rather leave him in the lurch :  
 Thought he, he has abus'd our church,  
 Refus'd to give himself one firke  
 To carry on the public work ;  
 1155 Despis'd our fynod-men, like dirt,  
 And made their discipline his sport;  
 Divulg'd the secrets of their classes,  
 And their conventions prov'd high places;  
 Disparag'd their tythe-pigs as Pagan,  
 1160 And set at nought their cheefe and bacon;  
 Rail'd at their covenant, and jeer'd  
 Their rev'rend parsons to my beard :  
 For all which scandals, to be quit  
 At once, this juncture falls out fit.  
 1165 I'll make him henceforth to beware,  
 And tempt my fury, if he dare :  
 He must at least hold up his hand,

neither eat nor drink until he was decoyed into it by this arch blade. See L'Estrange's *Fables*, part ii. fab. clxxxi. and Dr. Dan. Turner's treatise, *De Morbis Cutaneis*, cap. xii. p. 168. from Heywood's *Hierarchy of Angels*, lib. viii. p. 551. See an account of Basil's stratagem to gain his mistress Quiteria, the day she was to have been married to the rich Camacho (*Don Quixote*, vol. iii. chap. xxi. p. 201, 202, &c.); and of the player at Vitry in France, who was to act the part of a dead man, in 1644, and over-acted it; for when the necromancer touched him with his talisman, as the rules of the play required, the inanimate trunk could not obey, the man being really dead. *Turkish Spy*, vol. vi. book ii. chap. x.



- By twelve free-holders to be scann'd ;  
 Who by their skill in palmeſtry,  
 1170 Will quickly read his deſtiny ;  
 And make him glad to read his leſſon,  
 Or take a turn for't at the ſeſſion :  
 Unleſs his light and gifts prove truer  
 Than ever yet they did, I'm ſure ;  
 1175 For if he 'ſcape with whipping now,  
 'Tis more than he can hope to do :  
 And that will diſengage my conſcience  
 Of th' obligation, in his own ſenſe :  
 I'll make him now by force abide  
 1180 What he by gentle means deny'd,  
 To give my honour ſatisfaction,  
 And right the brethren in the action.  
 This being reſolv'd, with equal ſpeed  
 And conduct, he approach'd his ſteed,  
 1185 And, with activity unwont,  
 Aſſay'd the lofty beaſt to mount ;  
 Which once atchiev'd, he ſpurr'd his palſry,  
 To get from th' enemy, and Ralph, free :

v. 1148 ————*as dead as herring.*] Mr. Bailey obſerves (ſee folio Dictionary) that this ſaying is taken from the ſuddenneſs of this fiſh's dying after it is out of the water.

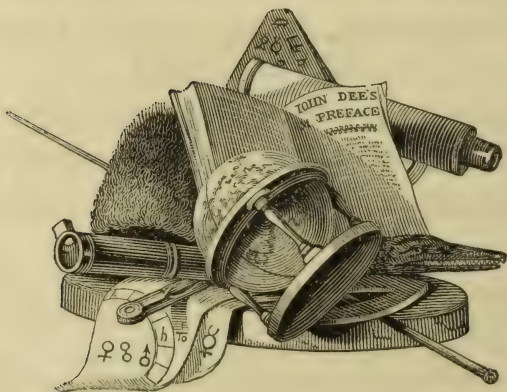
v. 1161. *Rail'd at their covenant.*] The Independents called the covenant an almanac out of date. Walker's Hiſtory of Independency, Append. to part i. p. 2 ; Pulpit guarded with ſeventeen Arguments, &c. by T. Hall, 1651.

v. 1187, 1188. ———— *he ſpurr'd his palſry,—To get from th' enemy, and Ralph, free.*] The Knight's conduct on this occaſion may be called in queſtion; for the reaſons upon which he founds it do not ſeem to be juſtifiable or conformable to the

Left danger, fears, and foes behind,  
1190 And beat, at least three lengths, the wind.

practice and benevolence of Knights-errant: Does ever Don Quixote determine to leave Sancho in the lurch, or exposed to danger, though as often thwarted by him as Don Hudibras by Ralpho? See one instance in proof, Don Quixote, vol. iii. ch. xxviii. p. 277. Had the Knight made Sidrophel's imagined death the sole motive of his escape, he had been very much in the right to be expeditious: But, as he makes that his least concern, and seems to be anxious to involve his trusty Squire in ruin, out of a mean spirit of revenge, this action cannot but appear detestable in the eye of every reader: Nothing can be said in favour of the Knight, but that he fancied he might justly retort upon Ralpho (in practice) that doctrine which he had elaborately inculcated in theory, That an innocent person might in justice be brought to suffer for the guilty.

By what has been said, let it not be inferred, that the poet's judgment is impeached: No; he has hereby maintained an exact uniformity in the character of his hero, and made him speak and act correspondent to his principles. (Mr. B.)



AN  
HEROICAL EPISTLE  
OF  
HUDIBRAS TO SIDROPHEL.

ECCE ITERUM CRISPINUS—







AN

## HEROICAL EPISTLE, &c.

WELL! Sidrophel, though 'tis in vain  
To tamper with your crazy brain,  
Without trepanning of your skull  
As often as the moon's at full:

This epistle was published ten years after the third Canto of this second Part, to which it is now annexed, namely, in the year 1674, and is said, in a key to a burlesque poem of Mr. Butler's, published 1706, p. 13, to have been occasioned by Sir Paul Neal, a conceited virtuoso, and member of the Royal Society, who constantly affirmed that Mr. Butler was not the author of Hudibras, which occasioned this epistle; and by some he has been taken for the real Sidrophel of the poem. This was the gentleman who, I am told, made a great discovery of an elephant in the moon, which upon examination proved to be no other than a mouse, which had mistaken its way, and got into his telescope. For a further account of him, see the Examen of the Complete History, by Roger North, Esq. p. 60.

v. 3. *Without trepanning of your skull.*] A surgeon's instrument to cut away any part of a bone, particularly in fractures of the skull, called *trepanum*. Quincy's Physical Dictionary, p. 432; Bailey's Dictionary.

- 5 'Tis not amiss, ere y' are given o'er,  
 To try one desp'rate med'cine more :  
 For where your case can be no worse,  
 The desp'rat'ft is the wisest course.  
 Is't possible that you, whose ears  
 10 Are of the tribe of Issachar's,  
 And might (with equal reason) either  
 For merit, or extent of leather,  
 With William Pryn's, before they were  
 Retrench'd and crucify'd, compare,  
 15 Should yet be deaf against a noise  
 So roaring as the public voice ?  
 That speaks your virtues free, and loud,  
 And openly in every crowd,  
 As loud as one that sings his part  
 20 T' a wheel-barrow, or turnip cart,

v. 10. *Are of the tribe of Issachar's.*] Explained Gen. xlix. 14.

v. 12. ————— *or extent of leather.*] His ears did not extend so far as that witty knave's who bargained with a feller of lace in London, for so much fine lace as would reach from one of his ears to the other. When they had agreed, he told her that he believed she had not quite enough to perform the covenant, for one of his ears was nailed to the pillory at Bristol. See Sir Fra. Bacon's *Apophthegms*, *Resuscitatio*, 3d edit. p. 231; Joe Miller's *Jefts*; or the ears of Mr. Oldham's Ugly Parson (see *Remains*, 1703, p. 116), of which he observes, "That they resemble a country justice's black jack—He's as well hung as any hound in the country: His single self might have shown with Smec, and all the club of divines:—You may pare enough from the sides of his head to have furnished a whole regiment of Roundheads: He wears more there than all the pillories in England ever have done. Mandeville tells us of a people somewhere, that used their ears for cushions; he has reduced the legend to a probability: A servant of his (that could not conceal the Midas) told me lately in private, that,  
 going

- Or your new nick'd-nam'd old invention  
 To cry green haſtings with an engine;  
 (As if the vehemence had ſtunn'd,  
 And torn your drum-heads with the ſound):
- 25 And 'cauſe your folly's now no news,  
 But overgrown, and out of uſe,  
 Perſuade yourſelf there's no ſuch matter,  
 But that 'tis vaniſh'd out of nature;  
 When folly, as it grows in years,
- 30 The more extravagant appears.  
 For who but you could be poſſeſs'd,  
 With ſo much ignorance and beaſt,  
 That neither all men's ſcorn, and hate,  
 Nor being laugh'd and pointed at,
- 35 Nor bray'd ſo often in a mortar,  
 Can teach you wholeſome ſenſe and nurture:

going to bed, he binds them to his crown, and they ſerve him for quilted night-caps." See ſome remarkable accounts of ears, Dr. Bulwer's *Artificial Changeling*, ſc. viii. p. 141.

v. 35. *Nor bray'd ſo often in a mortar.*] Bray a fool in a mortar, &c. is one of Solomon's proverbs, xxvii. 22. It is reported that Anaxarchus was pounded in a mortar at the inſtance of Nicocreon the tyrant of Cyprus.

"Aut ut Anaxarchus pilâ minuaris in altâ,  
 Jactaque pro ſolitis frugibus oſſa ſonent."

Ovidii Ibis, 571, 572.

"Ad quem locum vetus Scholiaſtes: Anaxarchus in mortario poſitus fuit, ut ſicut ſinapi contritus." Vide plura Diogenis Laertii de Vit. Phil. lib. ix. Segm. 58, 59; Ægidii Menagii Obſervat. See an account of his courageous behaviour upon that occaſion, Montaigne's *Effays*, book ii. chap. ii. p. 24.

It is a puniſhment, I believe, no where praſtiſed but in Turkey, and there but in one inſtance: "When the Muſti (or chief prieſt) is convicted of treaſon, he is put in a mortar in the ſeven towers, and there pounded to death." See Prince Cantemir's *Growth*, &c.

- But (like a reprobate) what course  
 Soever us'd, grow worse and worse?  
 Can no transfusion of the blood,  
 40 That makes fools cattle, do you good?  
 Nor putting pigs to a bitch to nurse,  
 To turn 'em into mongrel-curs,  
 Put you into a way, at least,  
 To make yourself a better beast?  
 45 Can all your critical intrigues,  
 Of trying sound from rotten eggs,  
 Your several new-found remedies  
 Of curing wounds and scabs in trees,  
 Your arts of fluxing them for claps,  
 50 And purging their infected saps,  
 Recovering shankers, crystallines,  
 And nodes and blotches in their rinds,  
 Have no effect to operate  
 Upon that duller block, your pate?  
 55 But still it must be lewdly bent  
 To tempt your own due punishment;

&c. of the Ottoman Empire, p. 37; Sir Paul Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, &c. book ii. chap. iv. p. 204.

v. 41, 42. *Nor putting pigs to a bitch to nurse,—To turn 'em into mongrel curs.*] A remarkable instance of this kind is made mention of by Giraldus Cambrensis, (Itinerar. Cambriæ, lib. i. Camdeni Anglic. Normanic. &c. 1603, p. 825.) of a hunting sow that had sucked a bitch. “Contigit autem in his nostris diebus—quod et notabile censui, suillam silvestrem, quæ canem forte lactaverat, odoris equis naribus sagacem: cujus mamillis apposita fuerat: adultam in ferarum persecutione ad miraculum usque fuisse pervalidam; adeo quidem ut molossis hac natura juvante, tam institutis, quam instructis, odorum sagacitate longe præstantior inveniretur. Argumentum, tam hominem, quam animal quodlibet, ab illâ cujus lacte nutritur, naturam contrahere.”



And, like your whimfied chariots, draw  
 The boys to courſe you without law:  
 As if the art you have ſo long  
 60 Profefs'd of making old dogs young,  
 In you had virtue to renew  
 Not only youth, but childhood too.  
 Can you, that underſtand all books,  
 By judging only with your looks,  
 65 Reſolve all problems with your face,  
 As others do with B's and A's;  
 Unriddle all that mankind knows  
 With ſolid bending of your brows;  
 All arts and ſciences advance,  
 70 With ſcrewing of your countenance;  
 And with a penetrating eye,  
 Into th' abſtruſeſt learning pry;  
 Know more of any trade b' a hint,  
 Than thoſe that have been bred up in't;  
 75 And yet have no art, true or falſe,  
 To help your own bad naturals?

v. 59, 60. *As if the art you have ſo long—Profefs'd, of making old dogs young.*] Alluding to the transfuſion of blood from one animal to another.

The following inſtances I meet with in the Philoſoph. Tranſact.

“I was preſent when Mr. Gayant ſhewed the transfuſion of the blood, putting that of a young dog into the veins of an old, who, two hours after, did leap and friſk.” Extract of a letter written from Paris, containing the account of ſome effects of the transfuſion of blood, Philoſophical Tranſactions, June 3, 1667, No. 26, vol. i. p. 479. See further accounts of the methods of transfuſing blood out of one animal into another, Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 19, vol. i. p. 352; No. 20, p. 353, &c.; No. 22, p. 387;

- But still the more you strive t' appear,  
 Are found to be the wretcheder :  
 For fools are known by looking wise  
 80 As men find woodcocks by their eyes. [lege  
 Hence 'tis that 'cause y' have gain'd o' th' col-  
 A quarter share (at most) of knowledge,  
 And brought in none, but spent repute,  
 Y' assume a power as absolute  
 85 To judge, and censure, and control,  
 As if you were the sole Sir Poll ;  
 And saucily pretend to know  
 More than your dividend comes to.  
 You'll find the thing will not be done  
 90 With ignorance and face alone ;  
 No, though y' have purchas'd to your name,  
 In history, so great a fame,  
 That now your talent's so well known,  
 For having all belief out-grown,

p. 387 ; No. 25, p. 451 ; No. 27, p. 589, &c. ; No. 28, p. 517 : a remarkable experiment of this kind, *ibid.* p. 521 ; No. 30, p. 557, &c. See the effects of transfusing the blood of four wedders into a horse of twenty-six years old, which gave him much strength, and a more than ordinary stomach, *ibid.* p. 559 ; of a Spanish bitch of twelve years old, which, upon the transfusion of kid's blood, grew vigorous and active, and even proud in less than eight days, *ibid.* p. 562 ; and No. 32, p. 617, of the cure of an inveterate frenzy by the transfusion of blood. See the antiquity of this practice, *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 37, vol. ii. p. 731 ; No. 42, p. 840, vol. iii. ; No. 53, p. 1075.

v. 86. *As if you were the sole Sir Poll.*] Sir Politic Would-be, a name in Ben Jonson's play, called *Volpone*, or the Fox, a ridiculous pretender to politics. (Mr. W.)

v. 91, 92. *No, though y' have purchas'd to your name,—In history, so great a fame.*] These two lines I think plainly discover, that Lilly  
 (and

- 95 That every strange prodigious tale  
Is measur'd by your German scale,  
By which the virtuosi try  
The magnitude of every lye,  
Cast up to what it does amount,  
100 And place the biggest to your account.  
That all those stories that are laid  
Too truly to you, and those made,  
Are now still charg'd upon your score,  
And lesser authors nam'd no more.  
105 Alas! that faculty betrays  
Those soonest it designs to raise;  
And all your vain renown will spoil,  
As guns o'ercharg'd the more recoil;  
Though he that has but impudence,  
110 To all things has a fair pretence;  
And put, among his wants, but shame,  
To all the world may lay his claim.  
Though you have try'd that nothing's borne  
With greater ease than public scorn,  
115 That all affronts do still give place  
To your impenetrable face,  
That makes your way through all affairs,  
As pigs through hedges creep with theirs:  
Yet as 'tis counterfeit, and brass,  
120 You must not think 'twill always pass;

(and not Sir Paul Neal) was here lashed under the name of Sidrophel: for Lilly's fame abroad was indisputable.

v. 105. — *Betrays.*] *Destroys* in all the editions I have seen.

v. 124.

For all impostors, when they're known,  
 Are past their labour and undone.  
 And all the best that can befall  
 An artificial natural

- 125 Is that which madmen find, as soon  
 As once they're broke loose from the moon,  
 And proof against her influence,  
 Relapse to e'er so little sense,  
 To turn stark fools, and subjects fit  
 130 For sport of boys, and rabble-wit.

v. 124. *An artificial natural.*] There were many such in those times. See Abel's character in Sir Robert Howard's Committee; and Sir John Birkenhead's *Bibliotheca Parliamenti*, done into English for the Assembly of Divines, 1653, p. 4, No. 40, where he speaks of the artificial changeling. Sir Roger L'Estrange, in his Apology, p. 95, observes of Miles Corbet, a man famed in those times, "that he personated a fool or a devil, without the change either of habit or vizard." Mr. Gayton, in his notes upon Don Quixote, book iii. chap. xi. p. 144, mentions a mimic upon the stage, who so lively personated a changeling, that he could never after compose his face to the figure it had before he undertook that part.





H U D I B R A S.

PART III. CANTO I.

## ARGUMENT.

*The Knight and Squire resolve at once  
The one the other to renounce;  
They both approach the Lady's bower,  
The Squire t' inform, the Knight to woo her :  
She treats them with a masquerade,  
By furies and hobgoblins made ;  
From which the Squire conveys the Knight,  
And steals him from himself by night.*



### PART III. CANTO I.

'Tis true, no lover has that power  
T' enforce a desperate amour,  
As he that has two strings t' his bow,  
And burns for love and money too ;  
5 For then he's brave and resolute,  
Disdains to render in his suit,  
Has all his flames and raptures double,  
And hangs, or drowns, with half the trouble ;  
While those who fillily pursue  
10 The simple downright way and true,

We are now come to the Third Part of Hudibras, which is considerably longer than either the First or the Second : and yet can the severest critic say, that Mr. Butler grows insipid in his invention, or falters in his judgment ? No: He still continues to shine

- Make as unlucky applications,  
 And steer against the stream their passions.  
 Some forge their mistresses of stars;  
 And when the ladies prove averse,  
 15 And more untoward to be won,  
 Than by Caligula the moon,  
 Cry out upon the stars for doing  
 Ill offices, to cross their wooing,  
 When only by themselves they're hind' red,  
 20 For trusting those they made her kindred;  
 And still, the harsher and hide-bounder  
 The damsels prove, become the fonder.  
 For what mad lover ever dy'd,  
 To gain a soft and gentle bride?  
 25 Or for a lady tender-hearted,

in both these excellencies; and, to manifest the extensiveness of his abilities, he leaves no art untried to spin out these adventures to a length proportionable to his wit and satire. I dare say, the reader is not weary of him; nor will he be so at the conclusion of the poem: and the reason is evident, because this last part is as fruitful of wit and humour as the former; and a poetic fire is equally diffused through the whole poem, that burns everywhere clearly and everywhere irresistibly. (Mr. B.)

v. 15, 16. *And more untoward to be won,—Than by Caligula the moon.*] \* Caligula was one of the Emperors of Rome, son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He would needs pass for a god, and had the heads of the ancient statues of the gods taken off, and his own placed on in their stead, and used to stand between the statues of Castor and Pollux to be worshipped, and often bragged of lying with the moon. Vide Suetonii Caliguli, cap. xxii; Philonis Judæi, lib. ii. de Legatione ad Caium, Colon. Allobrog. 1613, p. 776, 777; Mr. Fenton's Observations upon Mr. Waller's Poems, p. 87.



In purling streams, or hemp departed ?  
 Leap'd headlong int' Elysium  
 Through th' windows of a dazzling room ?  
 But for some cross ill-natur'd dame,  
 30 The am'rous fly burnt in his flame.  
 This to the Knight could be no news,  
 With all mankind so much in use ;  
 Who therefore took the wiser course,  
 To make the most of his amours ;  
 35 Resolv'd to try all sorts of ways,  
 As follows in due time and place.  
 No sooner was the bloody fight,  
 Between the Wizard and the Knight,  
 With all th' appurtenances, over,  
 40 But he relaps'd again to' a lover ;

v. 20. *For trusting those they made her kindred.*] The meaning of this fine passage is, That when men have flattered their mistresses so extravagantly as to make them goddesses, they are not to be surprised if their mistresses treat them with all that distance and severity which beings of a superior order think their right towards inferior creatures, nor have they reason to complain of what is but the effect of their own indiscretion. (Mr.W).

See this exemplified in the character of Flavia, in the Tatler (No. 139), who observes, That at that time there were three goddesses in the New Exchange, and two shepherdesses that sold gloves in Westminster-hall ; and in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida, act iii. vol vii. p. 61.

v. 23, 24, 25, 26. *For what mad lover ever dy'd—To gain a soft and gentle bride?—Or for a lady tender-hearted,—In purling streams, or hemp departed?*] See an account of the lover's leap from the promontory of Acarnania, called Leucate (Spectator, No. 223, 227) ; and of the several persons who took that leap, their reasons for so doing, and their good or bad success (Ibid. No. 233).

As he was always wont to do,  
 When h' had discomfited a foe;  
 And us'd the only antique philters,  
 Deriv'd from old heroic tilters.

45 But now triumphant and victorious,  
 He held th' atchievement was too glorious  
 For such a conqueror to meddle  
 With petty constable or beadle :

v. 41, 42. *As he was always wont to do,—When h' had discomfited a foe.*] The Knight had been seized with a love fit immediately after his imaginary victory at the bear-bating (Part I. Canto iii. v. 372, &c.); and the conquest he had gained in his late desperate engagement with Sidrophel has now the same effect upon him. This humour will appear very natural and polite, if the opinion he had of women be right, which he declares in a vain-glorious soliloquy upon his first victory, for which I beg leave to refer the reader to Part I. Canto iii. v. 381, &c.

As a consequent of this principle, the Knight, whenever he obtained a victory (or fancied so, which to him and Don Quixote was as good), he wildly thought himself possessed of all those endowments, and from thence strongly imagined his amours would be irresistible. It is true, he gained but a few victories; and therefore it is no wonder his heart was elated with hopes of gaining the widow, and his imagination raised to an enthusiastic claim of glory, when he was favoured by fortune. Thus, upon his first victory, he was cock-a-hoop, and thought

“ ——— h' had done enough to purchase  
 Thanksgiving day among the churches,  
 Wherein his mettle and brave worth  
 Might be explain'd by holder-forth.”

And he is now posting away with full speed to his mistress, upon his second victory, boldly to demand her person and possessions. (Mr. B.)

v. 43. *And us'd as, in edit. 1678.* \* Philters were love-potions reported to be much in request in former ages; but our true Knight-errant Hero made use of no other but what his noble atchievements by his sword produced.

v. 51, 52. *Who might perhaps reduce his cause—To th' ordeal trial*  
 of

Or fly for refuge to the hostess,  
 50 Of th' inns of court and chancery, Justice;  
 Who might perhaps reduce his cause  
 To th' ordeal trial of the laws;  
 Where none escape, but such as branded  
 With red hot irons have past bare-handed;  
 55 And if they cannot read one verse  
 I' th' Psalms, must sing it, and that's worse.

*of the laws.*] There were four sorts of ordeal: The first by camp, fight, or combat; the second by iron made hot; the third by hot water; and the fourth by cold. To the second sort it was that Emma, mother to King Edward the Confessor, submitted, when suspected of incontinency with Alwin Bishop of Winchester; who, when she had passed nine hot plowshares blindfolded without hurt, left so many manors to the cathedral of Winchester. (See Sir Thomas Ridley's View of the Civil Law, part i. p. 116, edit. 8vo, Lambard, under the word *Ordalium*). King Edward repenting the injury he had done his mother, gave to the same church the Isle of Portland and other possessions (see Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, by Hearne, p. 334, 340; Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 118). See a further account of the several kinds of trial by ordeal, Spelmanni Glossar. 1664, p. 435; Verstegan's Restitution of decayed Intelligence, ed. Antwerp. 1605, p. 63, &c.; Dr. Howel's Institut. of General History, &c. part iv. chap. ii. § x. p. 257, 324, &c.; History of Remarkable Trials of Great Britain, in 8vo, 1715, p. 1 to 17, inclusive. Vid. Officium Ordalii; Append. ad Fascicul. Rer. expetend. et fugiend. e textu Rossensi, p. 903, &c.

v. 55, 56. *And if they cannot read one verse—I' th' Psalms, must sing it—*] By this is meant the benefit of clergy, which is a thing often mentioned, and as little understood; for which reason it may not be amiss to explain the rise and meaning of it. In old times few persons were bred to learning, or could read, but those who were actually in orders, or educated for that purpose: so that if such a person was arraigned before a temporal judge for any crime (the punishment whereof was death), he might pray his clergy, that was to have a Latin Bible in a black Gothic character delivered to him; and if he could read (not sing as the poet says) in a place where the judge appointed, which was generally in the Psalms, the Ordinary thereupon certified, "*Quod legit,*"

He therefore judging it below him,  
 To tempt a shame the devil might owe him,  
 Resolv'd to leave the Squire for bail  
 60 And mainprize for him, to the gaol,  
 To answer, with his vessel, all  
 That might disastrously befall;  
 And thought it now the fittest juncture  
 To give the lady a rencounter,  
 65 T' acquaint her with his expedition,  
 And conquest o'er the fierce magician:  
 Describe the manner of the fray,  
 And shew the spoils he brought away;  
 His bloody scourging aggravate,

legit," and the criminal was saved, as being a man of learning, and might therefore be useful to the public; otherwise he was sure to be hanged. This privilege was granted in all offences but high treason and sacrilege, "Ex quibuscumque felonis ex acerrimo genere non existentibus, mortis judicium effugiant rei literariæ experti; si legentes clericos se esse profiteantur; clericali ordini ita olim indultum est, sceminis interea repudiatis, uti ordinis illius minime capacibus," Spelmanni Glossar. sub voc. *Felo*, *Felonia*, et *Fullonia*, p. 214, till after the year 1350; and was so great, that if a criminal was condemned at one assize, because he could not read, and was reprieved to the subsequent assize, he might again demand this benefit, either then, or even under the gallows; and if he could then read, he was of course to be pardoned; of which there is an instance in Queen Elizabeth's time. It was at first extended, not only to the clergy, but to any other person who could read, who must however declare that he vowed or was resolved to enter into orders: But as learning increased, this benefit of the clergy was restrained by several acts of parliament, and now is wholly taken away, the benefit being allowed in all clergyable felonies. (Dr. B. Mr. B.)

In Hudibras's days, they used to sing a psalm at the gallows; and therefore he that, by not being able to read a verse in the Psalms, was condemned to be hanged, must sing or at least hear a verse sung under the gallows before he was turned off. Mr.

Cotton



- 70 The number of the blows and weight;  
 All which might probably succeed,  
 And gain belief h' had done the deed :  
 Which he resolv'd t' enforce, and spare  
 No pawning of his soul to fwear :
- 75 But, rather than produce his back,  
 To fet his conscience on the rack ;  
 And in pursuance of his urging  
 Of articles perform'd, and scourging,  
 And all things else upon his part,
- 80 Demand delivery of her heart,  
 Her goods, and chattels, and good graces,  
 And person up to his embraces.

Cotton alludes to this in the following lines :

“ Ready, when Dido gave the word,  
 To be advanc'd into the halter,  
 Without the benefit on's psalter,  
 Then 'cause she would, to part the sweeter,  
 A portion have of Hopkins' metre,  
 As people use at execution,  
 For the decorum of conclusion,  
 Being too sad to sing, she says.”

Virgil Travestie, book iv. p. 145.

It is reported of one of the chaplains to the famous Montrose, that, being condemned in Scotland to die for attending his master in some of his glorious exploits, and being upon the ladder, and ordered to set out a psalm, expecting a reprieve, he named the 119th Psalm, with which the officers attending the execution complied, the Scots Presbyterians being great psalm-fingers; and it was well for him he did so, for they had sung it half through before the reprieve came; any other psalm would have hanged him.

v. 59. *Resolv'd to leave the Squire for bail.*] See Note on v. 1198, of the preceding Canto, and Sancho Pancho's complaint against Don Quixote in the braying adventure, vol. iii. chap. xxviii. p. 278.

- Thought he, the ancient errant knights  
 Won all their ladies hearts in fights ;  
 85 And cut whole giants into fritters,  
 To put them into amorous twitters ;  
 Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,  
 Until their gallants were half kill'd :  
 But when their bones were drubb'd so fore,  
 90 They durst not woo one combat more,  
 The ladies hearts began to melt,  
 Subdu'd by blows their lovers felt.  
 So Spanish heroes with their lances,  
 At once wound bulls, and ladies fancies,  
 95 And he acquires the noblest spouse  
 That widows greatest herds of cows ;  
 Then what may I expect to do,  
 Wh' have quell'd so vast a buffalo ?

v. 85, 86. *And cut whole giants into fritters,—To put them into amorous twitters.*] In what high esteem with their mistresses, upon this principle, must the Knight of the Burning Sword have been, who, with a single back stroke, cut in sunder two fierce and mighty giants (Don Quixote, vol. i. p. 4) ; or Don Felixmarte of Hircania, who, with one single back stroke, cut five swinging giants off by the middle, like so many bean-stalks (Don Quixote, vol. ii. part i. p. 60) ; or Uffo, whose monumental inscription we meet with (Turkish Spy, vol. v. book iv. letter 13) in the following words: “ I Uffo, fighting for my country, with my own hand killed thirty-two giants, and at last, being killed by the giant Rolvo, my body lies here ;” or Hycophrix (commonly called Hycothrift), who, with an axle-tree for a sword, and a cart-wheel for a buckler, is said to have killed two giants, and to have done great service for the common people in the fenny part of England (see Mr. Hearne’s Glossary to Robert of Gloucester, p. 640).

v. 87, 88. *Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,—Until their gallants were half kill'd* ] See an account of Phelis’s sending Guy Earl  
 of

Mean while, the Squire was on his way,  
 100 The Knight's late orders to obey :  
 Who sent him for a strong detachment  
 Of beadles, constables, and watchmen,  
 T' attack the cunning-man, for plunder  
 Committed falsely on his lumber ;  
 105 When he, who had so lately sack'd  
 The enemy, had done the fact,  
 Had rifled all his pokes and tobs  
 Of gimcracks, whims, and jiggumbobs,  
 Which he by hook, or crook, had gather'd,  
 110 And for his own inventions father'd:  
 And when they should, at gaol delivery,  
 Unriddle one anothers thievery,  
 Both might have evidence enough,  
 To render neither halter-proof:

of Warwick out upon adventures, Famous History of Guy Earl of Warwick, canto ii. canto vii.

v. 89, 90, 91. *But when their bones were drubb'd so sore,—They durst not woo one combat more,—The ladies hearts began to melt.*] See a banter upon knights errant, and their hard-hearted mistresses, Spectator, No. 99. Don Quixote observes (vol. i. p. 66), "That a knight errant must never complain of his wounds, though his bowels were dropping out through them."

v. 93. *So Spanish heroes with their lances, &c.*] \* The young Spaniards signalized their valour before the Spanish ladies at bull feasts, which often proved very hazardous, and sometimes fatal to them. It is performed by attacking of a wild bull, kept up on purpose, and let loose at the combatant: and he that kills most carries the laurel, and dwells highest in the lady's favour." See a large account of their bull feasts in confirmation, Lady's Travels into Spain, part iii. letter 10.

v. 98. — *quell'd so vast a buffalo.*] A wild American ox.

v. 108. — *and jiggumbobs.*] Another name for trinkets or gimcracks. (Dr. B.)

- 115 He thought it desperate to tarry,  
 And venture to be accessary :  
 But rather wisely slip his fetters,  
 And leave them for the Knight, his betters.  
 He call'd to mind th' unjust foul play  
 120 He would have offer'd him that day :  
 To make him curry his own hide,  
 Which no beast ever did beside,  
 Without all possible evasion,  
 But of the riding dispensation.  
 125 And therefore, much about the hour

v. 115, 116. *He thought it desperate to tarry,—And venture to be accessary.*] Accessary (by statute), a person who encourages, advises, and conceals an offender, who is guilty of felony by statute. Bailey ; Jacob's Law Dictionary.

v. 129, 130. *The Squire concurr'd t' abandon him,—And serve him in the self same trim.*] I fear the poet has rendered himself obnoxious to censure in this place, where he has made the conduct of Ralph unnatural and improbable. For no sooner had the Knight learnt, that Whachum was the thief, and Sidrophel the receiver of his cloak, &c. but he dispatches Ralpho for a constable, which was a prudent and a lawful action ; and we are told, that the Squire immediately obeyed him. But why he should in the way apprehend any danger, or decline performing so dutiful and necessary a piece of service, is strange and unaccountable. The encounter between the Knight and Sidrophel happened after Ralpho's departure ; so that if the Knight's proceedings were illegal, he could not fear any thing from thence, because he was not only innocent, but ignorant of them : And as for Sidrophel and his Zany, he was certain they were notorious offenders, from Sidrophel's own confession. Besides, he was sensible, that he had left the Knight in a critical situation, guarding his two prisoners, who, he might be sure, would leave no means untried to annoy their enemy, and make their escape. It thence became Ralpho to be dutiful and expeditious in relieving his master out of such imminent danger ; his conduct to the contrary is therefore unnatural. What the poet says in the lines before us can be no excuse for Ralpho ; and, let me observe,



- The Knight (for reasons told before)  
Resolv'd to leave him to the fury,  
Of justice, and an unpack'd jury,  
The Squire concurr'd t' abandon him,  
130 And serve him in the self-same trim:  
T' acquaint the Lady what h' had done,  
And what he meant to carry on;  
What project 'twas he went about,  
When Sidrophel and he fell out:  
135 His firm and stedfast resolution,  
To swear her to an execution;

observe, they are inconsistently urged in his favour; because the Knight's private determination for the intended ruin of him must be entirely unknown to one that was absent, which was Ralpho's case. As it therefore does not appear that he had, or could possibly have any intelligence of the Knight's designs, what reason can be given to justify his deserting his master at this juncture, and revealing his intrigues to his mistress? It is true, indeed, it was necessary she should be informed of them, that the hypocrisy and odiousness of such a character might be openly detected by a lady; and with a good natured reader, this necessity may palliate the marvellous method of supplying it; and perhaps it may be said, that Ralpho's service was voluntary and free, or that he was rather a companion than servant to Sir Hudibras: but this will not excuse him; for, as soon as he entered himself as a Squire to a Knight-errant, the laws of chivalry (which the poet should have adhered to) obliged him not to quit his arms nor his service, without the knowledge and approbation of his Knight, to whose behests he ought to have been obedient and trusty. And accordingly we find Sancho very often soliciting Don Quixote for his permission to return to La Mancha; and no one will say, that the rules of knighthood are not there exactly delineated. Nothing that I know of can be urged in defence of the poet, but that he has professedly drawn the character of his heroes odd and preposterous, and consequently that he might represent them so in their actions, to conserve a poetical uniformity in both; and in particular he attributes to Ralpho, in this scene, that wonderful sagacity, foresight, foreknowledge, and revelation, which his sect arrogantly pretended to: so that, if we will dispense with these supernatural qualifications in Ralpho, they, and they only, will solve the present difficulties. (Mr. B.)

- To pawn his inward ears to marry her,  
 And bribe the devil himself to carry her.  
 In which both dealt, as if they meant  
 140 Their party-faints to represent,  
 Who never fail'd, upon their sharing,  
 In any prosperous arms-bearing,  
 To lay themselves out to supplant  
 Each other cousin-german faint.
- 145 But ere the Knight could do his part,  
 The Squire had got so much the start,  
 H' had to the Lady done his errand,  
 And told her all his tricks afore-hand.  
 Just as he finish'd his report,
- 150 The Knight alighted in the court;  
 And having ty'd his beast t' a pale,  
 And taking time for both to stale,  
 He put his band and beard in order,  
 The sprucer to accost and board her;

v. 137. *To pawn, &c.*] \* His exterior ears were gone before, and so out of danger; but by inward ears is here meant his conscience.

v. 140. *Their party-faints to represent.*] This is to set forth the wicked tricks of all parties of those pretended faints, who were as ready to supplant and betray one another, as they were to supplant their professed enemies. (Dr. B.)

"The faints in masquerade would have us  
 Sit quietly, whilst they enslave us;  
 And what is worse, by lies and cant,  
 Would trick us to believe them faints;  
 And though by fines and sequestration,  
 They've pillag'd and destroy'd the nation,  
 Yet still they bawl for reformation."

Butler's Mem. of the years 1649-50. Remains.

v. 154. *The sprucer to accost and board her.*] So Petruchio, in Shakespeare's *Taming the Shrew*, act i. vol. ii. p. 292.

"*Pet.*





Hogarth del.

Ridley sculp.



- 155 And now began t' approach the door,  
 When she, wh' had spy'd him out before,  
 Convey'd th' informer out of sight,  
 And went to entertain the Knight:  
 With whom encount'ring, after longees  
 160 Of humble and submissive congees,  
 And all due ceremonies paid,  
 He strok'd his beard, and thus he said:  
 Madam, I do, as is my duty,  
 Honour the shadow of your shoe-tye:  
 165 And now am come to bring your car  
 A present you'll be glad to hear;  
 At least I hope so: The thing's done,  
 Or may I never see the sun;  
 For which I humbly now demand  
 170 Performance at your gentle hand,  
 And that you'd please to do your part,  
 As I have done mine, to my smart.

"*Pet.* Hortensio, peace. Thou knowest not gold's effect,  
 Tell me her father's name, and 'tis enough:  
 For I will board her, though she chide as loud  
 As thunder, when the clouds in Autumn crack."

See Hamlet Prince of Denmark, act ii. vol. vii. p. 270.

v. 162. *He strok'd his beard, and thus he said.*] The Knight is very nice in regulating his dress, before he goes into the presence of his mistress: It behoved him to be so on this important occasion. It more particularly concerned him to accost her at this visit in a proper attitude, since at the last interview he was placed in the most unbecoming situation. The poet will not let slip the Knight's action with his beard, probably, because to stroke the beard before a person spoke (as a preparative to win favour and attention) was the fashion near three thousand years ago. This we learn from Homer, by a passage in the tenth book of the Iliad, where Dolon is about to supplicate Diomed for mercy, who had threatened, and then stood ready to kill him.

" Sternly

With that he shrugg'd his sturdy back,  
As if he felt his shoulders ach.

- 175 But she who well enough knew what  
(Before he spoke) he would be at,  
Pretended not to apprehend  
The mystery of what he mean'd;  
And therefore wish'd him to expound  
180 His dark expressions, less profound.

- Madam, quoth he, I come to prove  
How much I've suffered for your love,  
Which (like your votary) to win,  
I have not spar'd my tatter'd skin:  
185 And for those meritorious lashes,  
To claim your favour and good graces.  
Quoth she, I do remember once  
I freed you from th' enchanted scone;  
And that you promis'd, for that favour,  
190 To bind your back to good behaviour,  
And for my sake and service vow'd,  
To lay upon't a heavy load,

" Sternly he spcke, and as the wretch prepar'd  
With humble blandishment to stroke his beard,  
Like lightning swift the wrathful faulchion flew,  
Divides the neck, and cuts the nerves in two."

Mr. Pope, v. 522, &c. (Mr. B.)

Thus Patroclus is introduced by Shakespeare (Troilus and Cressida, act i. vol. vii. p. 25) acting Nestor at the instance of Achilles.

" Now play me Nestor:—Hum, and stroke thy beard, as he being dressed to some oration." (See an account of Sancho Pan-cha's stroking his beard, Don Quixote, part i. book iii. chap. xii.; and Trifaldin's stroking his beard, Don Quixote, vol. iv. chap. xxxvi. p. 362; and of Isaac Pennington, Cleveland's Mix'd Assembly, Works, 1677, p. 43.) That stroking the beard was prepara-  
tory

And what 'twould bear, t' a scruple prove,  
As other knights do oft make love ;

195 Which, whether you have done or no,  
Concerns yourself, not me, to know.

But if you have, I shall confess,  
Y' are honefter than I could guess.

Quoth he, If you suspect my troth,  
200 I cannot prove it but by oath :  
And if you make a question on't,  
I'll pawn my soul that I have don't ;  
And he that makes his soul his surety,  
I think, does give the best security.

205 Quoth she, Some say the soul's secure  
Against distress and forfeiture,  
Is free from action and exempt,  
From execution and contempt ;  
And to be summon'd to appear

210 In th' other world's illegal here ;  
And therefore few make any account  
Int' what incumbrances they run't :

tory to the supplication of favours, appears from the following authority : " *Utitatus tamen erat in supplicationibus et precibus, quam venerationibus, barbam vel mentum tangere.*" Testis Ovidius,

" Tange manū mentum, tangunt quo more precantes,  
Optabis merito cum mala multa viro."

Facet. Facetiar. de Osculis, p. 236.

The conversation of this visit is carried on in an extraordinary manner : A most notorious hypocrisy in the Knight, and an artful dissimulation in the Widow, are beautifully represented.

v. 209, 210. *And to be summon'd to appear—In th' other world's illegal here.*] And yet there are such summonses upon record. Remarkable is the account of Peter and John de Carvajal, who were  
condemned

- For most men carry things so even  
Between this world, and hell, and heaven,  
215 Without the least offence to either,  
They freely deal in all together,  
And equally abhor to quit  
This world for both, or both for it ;  
And when they pawn and damn their souls,  
220 They are but pris'ners on paroles.  
For that, quoth he, 'tis rational,  
They may be accountable in all :  
For when there is that intercourse  
Between divine and human powers,  
225 That all that we determine here  
Commands obedience every where ;  
When penalties may be commuted  
For fines, or ears, and executed ;  
It follows, nothing binds so fast  
230 As souls in pawn and mortgage past :

condemned for murder, upon circumstantial evidence, and that very frivolous, to be thrown from the summit of a rock. Ferdinand IV. the then King of Spain, could by no means be prevailed upon to grant their pardon. As they were leading to execution, they invoked God to witness their innocency, and appealed to his tribunal, to which they summoned the King to appear in thirty days time. He laughed at the summons ; nevertheless, some days after, he fell sick, and went to a place called Alcaudet to divert himself, and recover his health, and shake off the remembrance of the summons, if he could. Accordingly, the thirtieth day being come, he found himself much better, and, after shewing a great deal of mirth and cheerfulness on that occasion with his courtiers, and ridiculing the illusion, retired to his rest, but was found dead in his bed the next morning. This happened in the year 1312. See Richers's Abridgment of the History of the Royal Genealogy of



For oaths are th' only tests and seals,  
Of right and wrong, and true and false;  
And there's no other way to try  
The doubts of law and justice by.

235 Quoth she, What is it you would swear?  
There's no believing till I hear:  
For till they're understood, all tales  
(Like nonsense) are not true, nor false.

Quoth he, When I resolv'd t' obey  
240 What you commanded t' other day,  
And to perform my exercise,  
(As schools are wont) for your fair eyes;  
T' avoid all scruples in the case,  
I went to do't upon the place:

245 But as the castle is enchanted  
By Sidrophel the witch, and haunted  
With evil spirits, as you know,  
Who took my Squire and me for two;

of Spain, 1724, p. 180; Grimston's Translation of Lewis de May-  
erne; Turquet's General History of Spain, 1612, p. 458.

v. 220. *They are but pris'ners on paroles.*] Mr. Anstis, Garter  
King at Arms, has, in his Register of the Garter (vol. i. p. 171),  
given an account of the obligations such prisoners are under.

"In the seventh of Henry V. (says he) our Sir Simon (de Fel-  
brig) was a witness of the promise made by Arthur of Bretagne,  
upon his releasement, to return under the penalty of the reversal  
of his arms, which in that age was the mark of perpetual infamy.  
Now the clause commonly inserted in agreements made with pri-  
soners upon their ransom was, That, in case they did not perform  
the conditions, they consented "*reputari pro felone et infami, ac  
arma sua reversari.*" Rymer, vol. vii. p. 228; vol. ix. p. 444,  
743, 744; Du Tillet Recueil des Roys de France, p. 432; Frois-  
sart, vol. ii. p. 123, &c.

- Before I'd hardly time to lay  
 250 My weapons by, and disarray,  
 I heard a formidable noise,  
 Loud as the Stentrophonic voice,  
 That roar'd far off, Dispatch and strip,  
 I'm ready with th' infernal whip,  
 255 That shall divest thy ribs of skin,  
 To expiate thy ling'ring sin.  
 Thou hast broke perfidiously thy oath,  
 And not perform'd thy plighted troth;  
 But spar'd thy renegado back,  
 260 Where th' had'st so great a prize at stake:  
 Which now the fates have order'd me  
 For penance and revenge to flea:  
 Unless thou presently make haste;  
 Time is, Time was: and there it ceas'd.  
 265 With which, though startled, I confess,

v. 252. *Loud as the Stentrophonic voice.*] Stentor, a famous crier in the Grecian army, who had a voice as loud as fifty men put together.

Στεντορι εισαμενη μεγαλητορι χαλκεσφωνω.

Homeri Iliad. lib. v. v. 785.

"Heaven's Empress mixes with the mortal croud,  
 And shouts in Stentor's sounding voice aloud." Pope.

"Tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis."  
 Juvenal, sat. xiii. 113.

"You rage and storm, and blasphemously loud,  
 As Stentor bellowing to the Grecian croud." Dryden.

Vide Erasmi Adag. chil. ii. cent. iii. prov. xxxvii. Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. (see Tatler, No. 37) observes of Tom Bellfrey, that he carried a note four furlongs three rood and six poles farther than any man in England; and Dr. Derham (Physico-Theology, b. iv. chap.

- Yet th' horror of the thing was less  
 Than the other dismal apprehension  
 Of interruption or prevention :  
 And therefore snatching up the rod,  
 270 I laid upon my back a load;  
 Resolv'd to spare no flesh and blood,  
 To make my word and honour good :  
 Till tir'd, and taking truce at length,  
 For new recruits of breath and strength,  
 275 I felt the blows, still ply'd as fast,  
 As if th' had been by lovers plac'd,  
 In raptures of Platonic lashing,  
 And chaste contemplative bardashing:  
 When facing hastily about,  
 280 To stand upon my guard and scout,  
 I found th' infernal cunning man,  
 And th' under witch, his Caliban,

chap. iii. p. 134. edit. 1727) makes mention of a Dutchman who brake rummer glasses with the strength of his voice.

Mr. Butler probably alludes to the speaking trumpet, which was much improved by Sir Samuel Morland in the year 1671 (seven years before the publication of this Third Part). See Philosophical Transactions, vol. v. No. 79, p. 3056.

v. 278.] See it explained, Dr. Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, scene xii. p. 209.

v. 280. —————and scout.] A sneer probably upon Sir Samuel Luke's office as a scout-master.

v. 282. *And th' under-witch, his Caliban* ] See an account of the monster Caliban, son to the witch Sycorax, under subjection to Prospero Duke of Milan (a famous magician), who thus describes him :

" Then was this island ————— save for the son, that she did litter here, a freckled whelp, hag-born, not honoured with a human shape." Shakespeare's Tempest, vol. i. p. 15, &c. Spectator, No. 279.

With scourges (like the furies) arm'd,  
 That on my outward quarters storm'd :  
 285 In haste I snatch'd my weapon up,  
 And gave their hellish rage a stop ;  
 Call'd thrice upon your name, and fell  
 Courageously on Sidrophel :  
 Who now transform'd himself t' a bear,  
 290 Began to roar aloud and tear ;  
 When I as furiously press'd on,  
 My weapon down his throat to run,  
 Laid hold on him ; but he broke loose,  
 And turn'd himself into a goose,  
 295 Div'd under water, in a pond,  
 To hide himself from being found.  
 In vain I fought him ; but as soon  
 As I perceiv'd him fled and gone,  
 Prepar'd with equal haste and rage,  
 300 His under-forcerer t' engage.

v. 289. *Transform'd himself t' a bear.*] Alluding to the fable of Proteus's changes, Ovidii Metamorph. lib. viii. 730, &c.

" As thou, blue Proteus, ranger of the seas,  
 Who now a youth confess'd, a lion now,  
 And now a boar with tusky head, doth shew ;  
 Now like a hateful gliding snake are seen,  
 A bull with horned head, a stone, or spreading green ;  
 Or in a flood dost flow a wat'ry way,  
 Dissembling streams, or in bright fire dost play."

(Ovid's Metamorphosis, translated by Mr. Sewell, &c. 2d edit. p. 253. Vide Virgillii Georgic. lib. iv. p. 405, &c.)

v. 293, 294. ————— *But he broke loose,—And turn'd himself into a goose.*] See Amaryllis's account of the transforming well, J. Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess, act ii. p. 23 ; act iii. sc. i. p. 27, 4to edit.



- But bravely scorning to defile  
 My sword with feeble blood and vile,  
 I judg'd it better from a quick-  
 Set hedge to cut a knotted stick,  
 305 With which I furiously laid on,  
 Till, in a harsh and doleful tone,  
 It roar'd, O hold, for pity, Sir ;  
 I am too great a sufferer,  
 Abus'd as you have been, b' a witch  
 310 But conjur'd into a worse caprich;  
 Who sends me out on many a jaunt,  
 Old houses in the night to haunt,  
 For opportunities t' improve  
 Designs of thievery or love;  
 315 With drugs convey'd in drink or meat,  
 All feats of witches counterfeit,  
 Kill pigs and geese with powder'd glass,  
 And make it for enchantment pass ;

v. 295, 296. *Div'd under water in a pond,—To hide himself from being found.*] Alluding to the account of Proteus,

“ Aut in aquas tenues dilapsus abibat.”

Virgillii Georgic, lib. iv. 410.

v. 301, 302. *But bravely scorning to defile—My sword with feeble blood and vile, &c.*] Thus the Boiards of Novogrod used their slaves, who had seized their towns, lands, houses, and wives, in their absence; and when they met their masters in a warlike manner—they determined to set upon them with no other weapons but their horse-whips, to put them in mind of their servile condition, and to terrify them; and so marching and lashing all together with their whips, they gave the onset, which seemed so terrible in the ears of their villains, that they fled all together like sheep before the drivers. See Dr. Giles Fletcher's Account of Russia; Purchase's Pilgrims, part iii. lib. iii. p. 418, 419.

With cow-itch meazle like a leper,  
 320 And choak with fumes of Guinea-pepper:  
 Make lechers, and their punks, with dewtry,  
 Commit phantastical advowtry;  
 Bewitch Hermetic men to run  
 Stark staring mad with manicon;

v. 319. *With cow-itch meazle like a leper.*] *Cowage*, commonly called *cow-itch*, is a great sort of kidney-bean, a native of the East Indies; the pod which is brought over to us is thick covered with short hairs, which, applied to the skin, occasions a troublesome itching for a little time, and is often used to play tricks with. (Dr. H.) In Dr. Hook's *Micographia*, observ. xxvi. p. 145, see a dissertation upon *Cowage*.

v. 321, 322. *Make lechers and their punks with dewtry—Commit phantastical advowtry*] *Dutroy*, *dewtroea*, now called *datura*, is a plant which grows in the East Indies. Its flower and seed have a peculiar intoxicating quality; for, taken in a small quantity, they transport a man from the objects about him, and place before him imaginary scenes, with which his attention is wholly taken up, so that any thing may be done with him or before him, without his regarding it then or remembering it afterwards. Thieves are said to give it to those they have a mind to rob; and women to their husbands, in order to use them as here represented by our poet. Some are said to be so expert in the use of the drug, that they can proportion its dose so as to take away the senses for any certain number of hours. (Dr. H.) (See Linschoten's *Voyages*, chap. xxxi. p. 60, 157; Facet. *Facetiar. de Hanreitate*, p. 441). And Mr. Purchas (see his *Pilgrims*, part ii. lib. x. chap. viii. p. 1537; see likewise Linschoten's *Voyages*, chap. lxi. p. 409) observes, that if the feet of the person under these circumstances are washed with cold water, he presently recovers his senses. See a further account of the *datura*, or dewtry, Bishop Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, 2d edit. p. 161, 162; Dale's *Pharmacologia*.

The *Nepenthe* in Homer (*Odyssæy*, book iv. v. 301, &c.), by the description, seems to have been much like it.

“ Mean time, with genial joy to warm the soul,  
 Bright Helen mix'd a mirth-inspiring bowl;  
 Temper'd with drugs of sov'reign use, to alluage  
 The boiling bosom of tumultuous rage;  
 To clear the cloudy front of wrinkled care,  
 And dry the tearful sluices of despair:

- 325 Believe mechanic virtuosi  
 Can raise 'em mountains in Potosi;  
 And sillier than the antic fools,  
 Take treasure for a heap of coals;  
 Seek out for plants with signatures,  
 330 To quack of universal cures;

Charm'd with that virtuous draught, th' exalted mind  
 All sense of woe delivers to the wind.  
 Though on the blazing pile his parent lay,  
 Or a lov'd brother groan'd his life away,  
 Or darling son, oppress'd by ruffian-force,  
 Fell breathless at his feet a mangled corpse:  
 From morn to eve, impassive and serene,  
 The man, entranc'd, would view the deathful scene.  
 These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,  
 Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife,  
 Who sway'd the sceptre where prolific Nile  
 With various simples clothes the fatten'd soil." Pope.

v. 323. *Bewitch Hermetic men to run.*] \* Hermes Trefmegistus, an Egyptian philosopher, and said to have lived anno mundi 2076, in the reign of Ninus, after Moses. He was a wonderful philosopher, and proved that there was but one God, the Creator of all things; and was the author of several most excellent and useful inventions. But those Hermetic men here mentioned, though the pretended sectators of this great man, are nothing else but a wild and extravagant sort of enthusiasts, who make a hodge podge of religion and philosophy, and produce nothing but what is the object of every considering person's contempt.

v. 324. *Stark-staring mad with manicon.*] *Manicon*, an herb so called from its making people mad; called also *dorychnion*, a kind of *night-shade*. Bailey's Dictionary.

Some herb of this kind probably made some part of Marc Anthony's army run mad, in his retreat from his Parthian expedition, in which the pursuing Parthians were repulsed eighteen times. (See Mr. Lewis's History of the Parthian Empire, p. 160, 165.) See a remarkable account of a fruit, which whosoever tastes will die laughing, Turkish Spy, vol. viii. book iv. letter xv.

v. 325. *Believe mechanic virtuosi—Can raise 'em mountains in Potosi.*] A banter upon such as have pretended to find out the philosopher's

- With figures ground on panes of glafs,  
 Make people on their heads to pafs;  
 And mighty heaps of coin increafe,  
 Reflected from a fingle piece;  
 335 To draw in fools whose natural itches  
 Incline perpetually to witches;

fopher's ftone, or powder for the tranfmutation of metals; of which Helmont gives the following account: "I have often feen it, and with my hands handled the fame, &c.—I projected a quarter of one grain, wrapped up in paper, upon eight ounces of argent vive (quickfilver) hot in a crucible, and immediately the whole hydrarygyry with fome little noife ceafed to flow, and remained congealed like yellow wax: after fuſion thereof, by blowing the bellows, there were found eight ounces of gold, wanting eleven grains. Therefore one grain of this powder tranſmutes 19,186 equal parts of argent vive into the beſt gold." (See a tract, entitled, *The Golden Calf*, in which is handled the more rare and incomparable wonder of nature in tranſmuting metals, written in Latin, by John Frederick Helvetius, &c. Lond. 1670, p. 36; Public Library, Cambridge, xiv. 6. 24).

v. 326. *Potoſi*.] \* Potoſi is a city of Peru, the mountains whereof afford great quantities of the fineſt filver in all the Indies.

v. 327, 328. *And fillicr than the antic fools,—Take treaſure for a heap of coals.*] *Antic fools* in all the editions to 1710 inclusive. *Αντὶκὰς ἢ ὑποκαρπὸς πωζωνες*, i. e. *Carbones theſaurus erant*. See the meaning, Eraſmi Adag. chil. i. cent. ix. Prov. xxx. col. 346; "The Governor Aratron converteth treaſure into coals, and coals into treaſure." *Arbatel of Magic*, aphor. xvii; Agrippa's *Occult Philoſophy*, 4to, 1655, p. 188.

The poet here deſigns probably to sneer Martin Frobisher, and others, who in Queen Elizabeth's time were adventurers to Cathaia, and brought home ore which they took for gold, which yet proved little better than coals.

Mr. Smith of Harleſton is of opinion, that, as Cathaia lies near the arctic circle, *arctic fools* would be an emendation.

v. 331, 332. *With figures ground on panes of glafs—Make people on their heads to pafs.*] Alluding to the *Camera Obſcura*; for an account of which, I refer the reader to Mr. Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, and Dr. Smith's *Complete System of Optics*, vol. ii. book iii. ch. xv. 968, 973, p. 384, 386.

See



And keep me in continual fears,  
 And danger of my neck and ears;  
 When less delinquents have been scourg'd,  
 340 And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd,  
 Which others for cravats have worn  
 About their necks, and took a turn.

See a contrivance to make the picture of any thing appear on a wall, picture, or cupboard, or within a picture-frame, &c. in the midst of a light room, in the day-time; or in the night, in any room that is enlightened with a considerable number of candles, devised and communicated by the ingenious Mr. Hook, *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 38, August 17, 1668, vol. ii. p. 741.

v. 333, 334. *And mighty heaps of coin increase,—Reflected from a single piece.*] Something of this kind of juggling or flight of hand is ascribed by Dr. Heywood (see *Hierarchy of Angels*, p. 574) to Dr. Faustus and Cornelius Agrippa.

“ Of Faustus and Agrippa it is told,  
 That, in their travels, they bear seeming gold,  
 Which could abide the touch, and by the way,  
 In all their host'ries, they would freely pay:  
 But parting thence, mine host thinking to find  
 Those glorious pieces they had left behind  
 Safe in the bag, sees nothing save together  
 Round scutes of horn and pieces of old leather.”

v. 339. *When less delinquents have been scourg'd, &c.*] See Lupton's *Thousand Notable Things*, 2d edit. p. 366.

“ Crimes are not punish'd, 'cause they're crimes,  
 But 'cause they are low and little:  
 Mean men for mean faults in those times  
 Make satisfaction to a tittle,  
 Whilst those in office, and in power,  
 Boldly the underlings devour.”

The Reformation, Collection of Loyal old Songs,  
 vol. i. No. 65, p. 169.

v. 340. *And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd.*] Alluding to petty criminals, who are whipped and beat hemp in Bridewell and other houses of correction.

v. 347,

- I pity'd the sad punishment  
 The wretched caitiff underwent,  
 345 And held my drubbing of his bones  
 Too great an honour for poltroons;  
 For Knights are bound to feel no blows  
 From paltry and unequal foes,  
 Who when they flash and cut to pieces,  
 350 Do all with civillest addressees;  
 Their horses never give a blow,  
 But when they make a leg and bow.  
 I therefore spar'd his flesh, and press'd him  
 About the witch with many a question.  
 355 Quoth he, For many years he drove  
 A kind of broking trade in love.  
 Employ'd in all th' intrigues and trust  
 Of feeble speculative lust;  
 Procurer to th' extravagancy,  
 360 And crazy ribaldry of fancy,  
 By those the devil had forsook,  
 As things below him, to provoke.

v. 347, 348.] *For knights are bound to feel no blows—From paltry and unequal foes.*] Still alluding to the rules of knight-errantry, in imitation of Don Quixote (see vol. i. book iii. chap. i. p. 133), who gave the following advice to his squire Sancho Pancha: "Friend Sancho, for the future, whenever thou perceivest us to be any ways abused by such inferior fellows, thou art not to expect that I should offer to draw my sword against them, for I will not do it in the least; no, do thou then draw, and chastise them as thou thinkest fit; but if any knight come to take their part, then I will be sure to step in between thee and danger." See likewise part i. chap. viii. p. 68; vol. ii. p. 220; vol. iii. chap. xi. p. 104; and Pharamond, a Romance, part iii. book iv. p. 117.

v. 351, 352. *Their horses never give a blow,—But when they make a leg*

But being a virtuoso, able  
 To smatter, quack, and cant, and dabble,  
 365 He held his talent most adroit,  
 For any mystical exploit;  
 As others of his tribe had done,  
 And rais'd their prices three to one.  
 For one predicting pimp has th' odds  
 370 Of chaldrons of plain downright bawds.  
 But as an elf (the devil's valet)  
 Is not so slight a thing to get,  
 For those that do his bus'ness best,  
 In hell are us'd the ruggedest,  
 375 Before so meriting a person  
 Could get a grant, but in reversion,  
 He serv'd two 'prenticeships and longer,  
 I' th' mystery of a lady-monger.  
 For (as some write) a witch's ghost,  
 380 As soon as from the body loos'd,  
 Becomes a puiſny imp itself,  
 And is another witch's elf,

*a leg and bow.*] Mr. Lewis (in his History of the Parthian Empire, 1728, p. 159) observes, from Dion Cassius, "That in the Roman battalions, in form of a tortoise, their horses were taught to kneel;" and in another place, p. 323, that Trajan, in his Parthian expedition, "was presented with a horse that was taught to adore, kneeling upon his fore-feet, and to bow his head to the ground, as Trajan stood before him."

v. 355, 356. *Quoth he, for many years he drove—A kind of broking trade in love.*] Lilly confirms this in one or two instances (see Life, 2d edit. p. 34), where he says, "He grew weary of such employments, and burned his books, which instructed these curiosities." See an account of the galley slave condemned for a pimp and a conjurer, with Don Quixote's dissertation on Pimps, part i. book iii. chap. vii. p. 226,

He, after searching far and near,  
 At length found one in Lancashire,  
 385 With whom he bargain'd before-hand,  
 And, after hanging, entertain'd.  
 Since which h' has play'd a thousand feats,  
 And practis'd all mechanic cheats;

v. 384. *At length found one in Lancashire.*] The reason why Sidrophel is said to find a witch in Lancashire, rather than any other county, is, because it has always been a tradition, that they have abounded there more than in all the kingdom. Hence came the vulgar expression of a Lancashire witch: and the tradition might probably take its rise from some reputed witches, who were tried there in the reign of King James I. and, I think, cast for their lives; but it was probably by judges that ran in but too much with the court stream, and favoured the monarch's opinion in his dæmonology; and fancied, because they had their nightly meetings, they could be nothing else but witches, though in reality (as I have been informed by one who read the narrative of them, published in those times) they were neither better nor worse than sheep stealers.

Mr. Burton (fellow-sufferer with Mr. Pryn and Dr. Bastwick, as Mr. Byron observes, from Pryn's New Discovery of the Prelate's Tyranny, p. 82) complained, "that, upon his being imprisoned in Lancaster castle, he was put into a high chamber ill floored, so that he was in danger of falling through it; and that to make it more grievous to him, they put into the room under it a company of witches, who were in that prison when he came thither." See an account of the Pendle forest witches, who were condemned at the assizes at Lancaster 1633, or 1634, but reprieved, and afterwards cleared from the aspersion by the boy who was suborned to be evidence against them, Webster's Displaying of suppos'd Witchcraft, chap. xiv. p. 276, &c. and chap. xvii. p. 347, &c.

v. 389, 390. *Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes—Of wolves, and bears, baboons, and apes.*] Le Blanc seems to give in to the possibility of this kind of transformation. See Travels, part ii. chap. xviii. But Wierus sneers this opinion: and after having exposed a fabulous instance from William of Malmesbury, of pranks of this kind played by two witches at Rome, who kept an inn, and now and then metamorphosed a guest into a horse, sow, or ass, he concludes, "At hæc, et similes nugæ eandem fortiantur fidem, quam Apuleius et Luciani metamorphosis meretur." De Præstigiis



Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes  
 390 Of wolves, and bears, baboons, and apes;  
 Which he has vary'd more than witches,  
 Or Pharaoh's wizards could their switches;  
 And all with whom h' has had to do,  
 Turn'd to as monstrous figures too.

*figiis Dæmonum*, lib. iv. cap. x. Vide etiam Lamberti Danæi, lib. de Veneficiis, &c. 1574, cap. iii. p. 59, 60; Webster's *Displaying of supposed Witchcraft*, chap. v. p. 83. There was a story of this kind much taken notice of in those times, and bantered by Mr. Cleveland, *On a Miser*, Works, p. 76.

"Have you not heard the abominable sport,  
 A Lancashire grand jury will report?  
 A soldier with his morglay watch'd the mill,  
 The cats they came to feast, when lusty Will  
 Whips off great puss's leg, which by some charm  
 Proves the next day such an old woman's arm."

See Note on Part I. Canto i. v. 350.

See more instances, *Saxonis Grammatici Hiftor. Danic. lib. i. p. 10. de Hartarenâ Præftigiatore*; *Stephani Stephanii, not. in lib. i, Hiftor. Danic, p. 43*; *Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft*, book v. p. 89, &c. 93, 94, where the opinion is exposed. Dr. Bulwer (*Artificial Changeling*, fc. 24. p. 516) observes from Mr. Scot, and other writers, "That the wonderful experiments of natural magic, which are only done in appearance, are very many: To fet a horse's or an afs's head upon a man's neck and shoulders, cut off the head of an horse or an afs (before they be dead, otherwise the virtue or strength thereof will be less effectual), and make an earthen vessel of a fit capacity to contain the same; and let it be filled with the oil and fat thereof, cover it close, and dawb it over with lome: let it boil over a soft fire three days, that the flesh boiled may run into oil, so as the bare bones may be seen; beat the hair into powder, and mingle the same with the oil, and anoint the heads of the standers by, and they shall seem to have horses or asses heads. If beasts heads be anointed with the like oil, made of a man's head, they shall seem to have mens faces, as divers authors soberly affirm." See *Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft*, book xiii. p. 315.

v. 392. *Or Pharaoh's wizards could their switches.*] See *Exodus vii. 11*; *King James's Dæmonology*, book i. chap. vi. Works, p. 105.

- 395 Witnefs myfelf, whom h' has abus'd,  
 And to this beaftly fhape reduc'd,  
 By feeding me on beans and peafe,  
 He crams in nafty crevices,  
 And turns to comfits by his arts,  
 400 To make me relifh for deferts,  
 And one by one, with fhame and fear,  
 Lick up the candy'd provender.  
 Befide——But as h' was running on,  
 To tell what other feats h' had done,  
 405 The lady ftopp'd his full career,  
 And told him now 'twas time to hear;  
 If half thofe things (faid fhe) be true—  
 They're all, quoth he, I fwear by you—  
 Why then (faid fhe) that Sidrophel  
 410 Has damn'd himfelf to th' pit of hell;  
 Who, mounted on a broom, the nag  
 And hackney of a Lapland hag,

v. 411, 412. *Who mounted on a broom, the nag—And hackney of a Lapland hag.*] See Scheffer's account of a Lapland witch in the town of Luhliah, who flew through the ceiling of a chamber. *History of Lapland*, octavo, chap. xi. p. 157. Dr. Heywood feems to give into this opinion, in the cafe of the maid of Bergamus, &c. fee *Hierarchy of Angels*, lib. iv. p. 257, 258; and Mr. Glanvil in the cafes of Richard Jones, of Shipton Mallet, and of Elifabeth Styles. *Sadufcimus Triumphatus*, part ii. p. 124, 139. Mr. Scot (fee *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book iii. chap. i. p. 40) gives the following account: "He (the devil) teacheth them to make ointments of the bowels and members of children, whereby they ride in the air, and accomplifh all their defires.—After burial they steal them out of their graves, and feede them in a caldron until their flefh be made potable; of which they make ointment, by which they ride in the air." Vide *Unguent. Mallei Maleficarum*, tom. i par. xi. *Quæft. cap. xii. p. 240.*

<sup>a</sup> Strigibus per unguentum prædictam diabolicum poffibile eft accidiſſe,

- In quest of you came hither post,  
 Within an hour (I'm sure) at most ;  
 415 Who told me all you swear and say  
 Quite contrary another way ;  
 Vow'd that you came to him, to know  
 If you should carry me or no ;  
 And would have hir'd him and his imps  
 420 To be your match-makers and pimps,  
 T' engage the devil on your side,  
 And steal (like Proserpine) your bride.  
 But he, disdain'g to embrace  
 So filthy a design and base,  
 425 You fell to vapouring and huffing,  
 And drew upon him like a ruffian ;  
 Surpriz'd him meanly, unprepar'd,  
 Before h' had time to mount his guard ;  
 And left him dead upon the ground,  
 430 With many a bruise and desperate wound :

accidisse, aut accidere somnium vehementissimum, et somniare se ad loca deportatas longinqua, in catos converti, vel quæcunque alia facere, etiam vel pati, quæ postmodum se putant in veritate fecisse, vel passas esse." Fra. Bartholi de Spinâ Quæst. de Strigibus, tom. iv. ; Mallæi quarundum Maleficar. p. 461.

Wierus exposes the folly of this opinion, and proves it to be diabolical illusion, and to be acted only in dreams ; Oldham likewise sneers it, Works, 6th edit. p. 254.

" As men in sleep, though motionless they lie,  
 Fledg'd by a dream, believe they mount and fly ;  
 So witches some enchanted wand bestride,  
 And think they through the airy regions ride."

See more, Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft, book iii. chap. iii. p. 43, &c. book x. chap. viii. p. 184, &c. ; Webster's Displaying of supposed Witchcraft, chap. v. p. 69 ; Life of William Duke of Newcastle, by his Dutchess, p. 144 ; Baker's History of the Inquisition, p. 172.

v. 422. *And steal (like Proserpine,) your bride* ] " Proserpine  
 (says

- Swore you had broke, and robb'd his house,  
 And stole his talismanic louse,  
 And all his new-found old inventions,  
 With flat felonious intentions ;  
 435 Which he could bring out, where he had,  
 And what he bought them for, and paid :  
 His flea, his morpion, and punaise,  
 H' had gotten for his proper ease,  
 And all in perfect minutes made,  
 440 By th' ablest artist of the trade ;  
 Which (he could prove it) since he lost,  
 He has been eaten up almost ;  
 And altogether might amount  
 To many hundreds on account :

(says the author of the *Spectator*, No. 365) was out a maying, when she met with the fatal adventure." To which Milton alludes, when he mentions,

" ——— That fair field  
 Of Enna, where Proserpine, gath'ring flowers,  
 Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis  
 Was gather'd." ———

v. 432. *And stole his talismanic louse.*] There is a great deal of humour in this expression. The superstition of talismans is this, that in order to free any place from vermin, or noxious animals of any kind, the figure of the animal is made of consecrated metal, in a planetary hour (see Note on Part I. Canto i. v. 530), and is called the talisman. The joke then of this thought is this, that Sidrophel had made a talismanic louse to preserve himself from that vermin. He alludes again with great humour to this superstition, Canto ii. v. 1555, 1556.

Each in a tatter'd talisman,  
 Like vermin in effigy slain. (Mr. W.)

The author of the *Turkish Spy* (vol. iv. book iv. letter 9) mentions a story of Pancrates, a famous magician of Egypt, from Lucian, who by talismans was able to transform inanimate things into the appearance at least of living creatures. He likewise gives an account of some remarkable talismans at Paris, vol. iii. b. ii. p. 25. But Gassendus (*Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*, chap. xvii. p. 116)



445 For which h' had got sufficient warrant  
 To seize the malefactors errant,  
 Without capacity of bail  
 But of a cart's or horse's tail;  
 And did not doubt to bring the wretches,  
 450 To serve for pendulums to watches,  
 Which, modern virtuoso's say,  
 Incline to hanging every way.  
 Beside he swore, and swore 'twas true,  
 That, ere he went in quest of you,  
 455 He set a figure to discover  
 If you were fled to Rye or Dover;  
 And found it clear, that, to betray  
 Yourselfes and me, you fled this way;

p. 116) seems to sneer the doctrine of talismans, in the following words: "I say nothing of the election of times, which they prescribe to be observed in the making seals, images, figures, gamatives, and the like representations, which they call talismans: because it is obvious, that no distracted fancy could ever have imagined any thing more vain, more foolish." And Naudæus, in banter of talismans, observes, (*History of Magic*, chap. xxi.) "That Scaliger did justly laugh at a fly-driver, who having made a little plate, graved with figures and characters under a certain constellation, had no sooner placed it in a window to try the experiment, but a confident fly hantelled it with its odour." See the superstitious custom of the inhabitants of Guzarat, *Purchase's Pilgrims*, vol. v. chap. viii. p. 542.

v. 437. ——— *morpion, and punaise*.] See *Morpion and Punaise*, Mr. Boyer's French Dictionary, tom. 1.

v. 450. *To serve for pendulums to watches*.] Dr. Robert Hooke, geometry professor of Gresham college, was the first inventor of circular pendulum watches, just before or immediately after the restoration of King Charles II. See Mr. Ward's *Lives of the Professors*, &c. p. 170, 171. Mr. Chambers (*Cyclopædia*) observes, that it is between Dr. Hooke and Mr. Huygens, that the glory of this invention lies; but to which of them it properly belongs is

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And that he was upon pursuit,  
 460 To take you somewhere hereabout.  
 He vow'd he had intelligence  
 Of all that pass'd before and since ;  
 And found, that ere you came to him,  
 Y' had been engaging life and limb,  
 465 About a case of tender conscience,  
 Where both abounded in your own sense ;  
 Till Ralpho, by his light and grace,  
 Had clear'd all scruples in the case,  
 And prov'd that you might swear and own  
 470 Whatever's by the wicked done ;  
 For which, most basely to requite  
 The service of his gifts and light,

greatly disputed, the English ascribing it to the former, the French, Dutch, &c. to the latter. Mr. Derham, in his *Artificial Clock-maker*, says roundly, that Dr. Hooke was the inventor.

v. 480. *Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white.*] A thing much practised by the fanatics of those times, and is well bantered in the *Tale of a Tub*, p. 207, under the character of Jack (namely Calvin, or the Presbyterian). He says, "That he hired a tailor to stitch up his collar so close, that it was ready to choak him; and squeezed out his eyes at such a rate, that one could see nothing but the white." And Dr. Echard (*Observations upon the Answer to the Enquiry*, &c. p. 113) that they often shewed the heavenly part of the eye. Nay, this practice of the Puritans is bantered in a song of Ben Jonson's. See *Masque of the transformed Gyplies*, Works, vol. i. p. 70.

" Cock-Laurel would needs have the devil his guest,  
 And had him once into the Peak to dinner,  
 Where never the fiend had such a feast,  
 Provided him yet, at the charge of a sinner;  
 His stomach was queasy, for coming there coach'd,  
 The jogging had caus'd some crudities rise;  
 To help it, he call'd for a Puritan poach'd,  
 That us'd to turn up the eggs of his eyes."

The

You strove t' oblige him by main force  
 To scourge his ribs instead of yours ;  
 475 But that he stood upon his guard,  
 And all your vapouring out-dar'd ;  
 For which, between you both, the feat  
 Has never been perform'd as yet.

While thus the Lady talk'd, the Knight  
 480 Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white,  
 (As men of inward light are wont  
 To turn their optics in upon't.)  
 He wonder'd how she came to know  
 What h' had done, and meant to do ;  
 485 Held up his affidavit-hand,  
 As if h' had been to be arraign'd ;

The late ingenious Mr. Fenton (poems, 8vo. 1717, p 71, 72) has satirized those precisians in the following lines:

“ An age most odious and accurs'd ensu'd,  
 Discolour'd with a pious monarch's blood ;  
 Whose fall when first the tragic virgin saw,  
 She fled, and left her province to the law.  
 Her merry sister still pursu'd the game,  
 Her garb was alter'd, but her gifts the same :  
 She first reform'd the muscles of her face,  
 And learnt the solemn screw for signs of grace ;  
 Then circumcis'd her locks, and form'd her tone,  
 By humming to a tabor and a drone ;  
 Her eye she disciplin'd precisely right,  
 Both when to wink, and how to turn the white :  
 Thus banish'd from the stage, she gravely next  
 Assum'd the cloak, and quibbled o'er a text ;  
 But when by miracle of mercy shewn,  
 Much suffering Charles regain'd his father's throne,  
 When peace and plenty overflow'd the land,  
 She strait pull'd off her fatten cap and band.”

General Historical Dictionary, vol. vi. p. 298.

v 485. *Held up his affidavit-hand*] The holding up the right hand was deemed a mark of truth. “ Quia vero fidei propria fe-

Cast towards the door a ghastly look,  
In dread of Sidrophel, and spoke :

Madam, If but one word be true  
490 Of all the wizard has told you,  
Or but one single circumstance  
In all th' apocryphal romance,  
May dreadful earthquakes swallow down  
This vessel, that is all your own ;

des in dextera manu credebatur : ideo interdum duabus junctis manibus fingebatur.—Quamobrem apud veteres manus dextera tanquam res sacra putabatur." Chartarii Imagin. Deorum, qui ab antiquis colebantur, edit. Lugduni, 1581, p. 214.

v. 403, 404. *May dreadful earthquakes swallow down—This vessel, that is all your own* ] This prevarication of our Knight is not quite so clean as that of Sancho Pancha, who being bribed by Don Quixote to give himself three thousand three hundred lashes for the disenchantment of his mistress, Dulcinea del Toboso, by taking the advantage of the night, he bestowed them upon a tree, in the hearing of his master, vol. iv. chap. lxi, lxxi. p. 702, 719. This was contrary to the laws of chivalry, as Don Quixote observes, in the case of his own penance, part i. book iii. chap. xi. p. 277.

But Don Hudibras might probably think to screen himself by the authority of Catullus, as well as some modern poets.

" Nil metuunt jurare, nihil promittere parant.  
Sed simul ac cupidæ mentis satiata libido est,  
Dicta nihil metuere, nihil perjuris curant."

Catulli carm. lxiv. 146, 147, 148.

Cælia observes (Shakespeare's *As you like it*, act iii. vol. ii. p. 238), " That the oath of a lover is no stronger than the word of a tapster; they are both the confirmers of false reckonings." And Mirabel (see *Wild Goose Chase*, Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, part i. p. 452) thus speaks to Oriana :

" I have more to do with my honesty than to fool it or venture it in such leak-barks as women; I put them off, because I loved them not,—and not for thy sake, nor the contract's sake, nor vows nor oaths; I have made a thousand of them; they are things indifferent, whether kept or broken, mere venial slips, that come not near the conscience, nothing concerning those tender parts; they are trifles." The Beguins of the Franciscan order



495 Or may the heavens fall, and cover  
These reliques of your constant lover.

You have provided well, quoth she,  
(I thank you) for yourself and me,  
And shewn your Presbyterian wits  
500 Jump punctual with the Jesuits;  
A most compendious way, and civil,  
At once to cheat the world, the devil,

order were of opinion, that whatever lies a man told a woman to gain her consent to his desires was not heresy, so that he believed in his heart the carnal act was sin. Baker's History of the Inquisition, chap. v. p. 28.

Jusjurandum Amatorium.

“ Juliae sum pollicitus futurum  
Me sibi fidum, calidusque amore  
Jurejurando simul obligavi  
Me quoque scripto.

Hicce nec vinclis tenet obligatum  
(Dum placent nymphæ, retinent amantes);  
Ventus inscriptum folio ratumque  
Cum folio aufert.

The Lover's Oath.

I.

“ I promis'd Julia to be true,  
Nay, out of zeal, I swore it too,  
And, that she might believe me more,  
Gave her in writing what I swore.

II.

Nor vows nor oaths can lovers bind,  
So long as pleas'd, so long they're kind;  
'Twas writ on a leaf, the wind it blew,  
Away both leaf and promise flew.”

(The late Dean M.)

v. 499, 500. *And shewn your Presbyterian wits—Jump punctual with the Jesuits.*] There was but too much truth in this observation; for there were several Jesuits and Popish priests got into livings in those times. See Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 231, 781.

It is the observation of Mr. Long (Ep. Ded. to his History of Popish and Fanatical Plots), “ That the Jesuits and Dissenters have so long communicated politics, that it is hard to determine

- And heaven, and hell, yourselves, and those  
 On whom you vainly think t' impose.
- 505 Why then (quoth he), may hell surprise—  
 That trick (said she) will not pass twice:  
 I've learn'd how far I'm to believe  
 Your pinning oaths upon your sleeve:  
 But there's a better way of clearing
- 510 What you would prove than downright swear—  
 For if you have perform'd the feat, [ing;  
 The blows are visible as yet,  
 Enough to serve for satisfaction  
 Of nicest scruples in the action;
- 515 And if you can produce those knobs,  
 Although they're but the witches drubs,  
 I'll pass them all upon account,  
 As if your natural self had don't;  
 Provided that they pass th' opinion
- 520 Of able juries of old women,

whether there be now more fanaticism in the Jesuits, or more Jesuitism among the fanatics." And Mr. Petyt (see *Visions of the Reformation*, p. 20), comparing the Papists and Presbyterians, says, "You will find, that though they have two faces that look different ways, yet they have both the same lineaments, the same principles, and the same practices, and both impudently deny it, like the two men that stole the piece of flesh from the butcher in the fable: he that took it, swore he had it not; and he that had it, swore he did not take it. Who took it, or who has it, I don't know (quoth the butcher), but by Jove you are a couple of knaves. As in their Pharisaical disposition they symbolize with the Jew, so in some of their positions they jump pat with the Jesuit: for though they are both in the extremes, and as contrary one to the other as the scales of a diameter, yet their opinions and practices are concentric to depress regal power; both of them would bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in  
 links

Who, us'd to judge all matter of facts  
For bellies, may do so for backs.

Madam (quoth he), Your love's a million :  
To do is less than to be willing,

525 As I am, were it in my power,  
T' obey what you command and more.  
But for performing what you bid,  
I thank you as much as if I did.  
You know I ought to have a care,  
530 To keep my wounds from taking air ;  
For wounds in those that are all heart,  
Are dangerous in any part.

I find (quoth she) my goods and chattels  
Are like to prove but mere drawn battles ;  
535 For still the longer we contend,  
We are but farther off the end ;  
But granting now we should agree,  
What is it you expect of me?

links of iron." The True Informer, who—discovereth—the chief causes of the sad distempers in Great Brittain and Ireland, Oxford, 1643, p. 9.

" The Roman Catholics advance the cause,  
Allow a lie, and call it *pia fraus*.  
The Puritan approves, and does the same,  
Dislikes nought in it, but the Latin name:  
He flows with his devices, and dare lie  
In very deed, in truth, and verity :  
He whines, and sighs, and lies with so much ruth,  
As if he griev'd 'cause he could ne'er speak truth."

Puritan and Papist, by Mr. A. Cowley, p. 1.

v. 520. *Of able juries of old women.*] See v. 884.

v. 531. *For wounds in those that are all heart, &c.*] See character of Little Hugo, Gondibert, book i. canto ii. p. 29 ; and Sancho's

- Your plighted faith (quoth he) and word  
 540 You pass'd in heaven on record,  
 Where all contracts, to have and t' hold,  
 Are everlastingly enroll'd:  
 And if 'tis counted treason here  
 To rase records, 'tis much more there.
- 545 Quoth she, There are no bargains driv'n,  
 Nor marriages clapp'd up in heav'n;  
 And that's the reason, as some guess,  
 There is no heav'n in marriages;  
 Two things that naturally press  
 550 Too narrowly to be at ease:

advice to Don Quixote, "whose little heart, he says, was no bigger than a hazel-nut," vol. iii. p. 86.

v. 539, 540. *Your plighted faith (quoth he) and word—You pass'd in heaven on record.*] The author of a book, entitled, *The Devil upon two Sticks* (vol. i. chap. ix. p. 108, edit. 1708), makes mention of a couple of young ladies talking upon the subject of matrimony after their father's death.—"He is dead at last (said the eldest), our unnatural father, who took a barbarous pleasure in preventing our marriage; he will now no more cross our designs. For my part (said the youngest), I am for a rich husband, and Don Bourvelas shall be my man. Hold, sister (replied the eldest), don't let us be hasty in the choice of husbands; let us marry those the powers above have decreed for us, for our marriages are registered in heaven's books. So much the worse, dear sister (returned the younger), for I am afraid my father will tear out the leaf."

v. 543, 544. *And if 'tis counted treason here—To rase records, 'tis much more there.*] I cannot learn that it is treason to rase records by any law in being in Mr. Butler's time: It was made felony by 8 of Richard II. and 8 Henry VI. 12. See Statute book. "*Merito capitale est inconsultâ curiâ delere, vel immutare.*" Vide Spelmanni Glossar. sub voce *Recordum, Recordatio*, p. 480. That infamous Solicitor-general St. John, in his Argument against the Earl of Strafford, says, "It is treason to embezzle judicial records."  
 Walker's



Their bus'ness there is only love,  
 Which marriage is not like t' improve.  
 Love, that's too generous to abide  
 To be against it's nature ty'd :  
 555 For where 'tis of itself inclin'd,  
 It breaks loose when it is confin'd ;  
 And like the soul, its harbourer,  
 Debarr'd the freedom of the air,  
 Disdains against its will to stay,  
 560 But struggles out, and flies away ;  
 And therefore never can comply  
 T' endure the matrimonial tie,

Walker's History of Independency, part iii. p. 15. Serjeant Thorp (one of the infamous judges of the times), in his charge to the grand jury at York, March 20, 1648, p. 15, in his list of felonies against the possession, says, "It is felony, if any rafe, embezzle, or withdraw any record of the court."

v. 545, 546, 547, 548. *Quoth she, There are no bargains driven, Nor marriages clapp'd up in heaven :—And that's the reason, as some guesſs,—There is no heaven in marriages.*] Marriage is ridiculed in an extraordinary manner in this whole speech of the widow. She begins very wittily and satirically. The comparisons of marriage to a double horse, and of love to an ague, are finely imagined, and exceedingly well suited to the nature of this poem, which is burlesque in perfection. We are ready to pardon these reflections upon that happy state of life, because they proceed out of a lady's mouth. If we consider her present case, she could not avoid making such frightful representations of that state, not from any disaffection she had to it, but to deter the Knight from it, and consequently by this method to get quit of his addressees, which were very disagreeable to her. (Mr. B.)

This passage alludes to our Saviour's answer to the Sadducees, That in heaven there is no marrying, nor giving in marriage.

To which Mr. J. Owen, in one of his admired Epigrams, alludes, Epigrammat. Johan. Owen, lib. ii. p. 21; Amor Conjugalis, p. 200, edit. 1633.

" Plurimus in cœlis amor est, connubia nulla ;  
 Conjugia in terris plurima, nullus amor."

There

- That binds the female and the male,  
 Where th' one is but the other's bail ;  
 565 Like Roman gaolers, when they slept,  
 Chain'd to the prisoners they kept,  
 Of which the true and faithfull'st lover  
 Gives best security to suffer.  
 Marriage is but a beast, some say,  
 570 That carries double in foul way ;  
 And therefore 'tis not to b' admir'd  
 It should so suddenly be tir'd ;  
 A bargain at a venture made  
 Between two partners in a trade ;  
 575 (For what's inferr'd by t' have and t' hold,  
 But something past away and sold ?)  
 That, as it makes but one of two,  
 Reduces all things else as low ;

There is another, in English, with the same turn of thought, which is given to Dean Swift, but how justly I cannot say.

“ Cries Cælia to a reverend Dean,  
 What reason can be given,  
 Since marriage is a holy thing,  
 That there is none in heaven ?  
 There are no women there, he cried.  
 She quick returns the jest,  
 Women there are, but I'm afraid  
 They cannot find a priest.” (Mr. C.)

v. 565, 566. *Like Roman gaolers, when they slept,—Chain'd to the prisoners they kept.*] The custom was for the prisoner to have a chain on his right-hand, with the other end chained to the left-hand of the soldier that kept him. To this Lipsius alludes, Comment. in lib. iii. Annal Taciti, p. 60. edit. Lugduni Batavor. 1589. “ Custodia militaris frequentissima, et in Romæ, et in provinciis; ejusque modus, ut is, qui in noxâ esset, catenam manui dextræ alligatam haberet; quæ eadem militis, sinistram vinciret, custodiæ ejus præfecti.” Vide Senecæ lib. de Tranquillitate Animæ,

And at the best is but a mart  
 580 Between the one and t' other part,  
 That on the marriage-day is paid,  
 Or hour of death, the bet is laid;  
 And all the rest of better or worse,  
 Both are but losers out of purse.  
 585 For when upon their ungot heirs  
 Th' entail themselves, and all that's theirs,  
 What blinder bargain e'er was driv'n,  
 Or wager laid at six and seven,  
 To pass themselves away, and turn  
 590 Their childrens tenants ere they're born?  
 Beg one another idiot  
 To guardians, ere they are begot,  
 Or ever shall perhaps, by th' one  
 Who's bound to vouch 'em for his own.

mæ, cap. x. p. 348, edit. Parisiis, 1587. To this Juvenal alludes, sat. vi. 560, 561.

"Inde fides artis, sonuit, si dextera ferro,

Lævaque si longo castrorum in carcere mansit."

Vide plura Lipsii not. id. ib. See Dr. Whitby's note upon St. Peter's being bound with two chains, Acts xii. 7.

v. 575, 576. For *what's inferr'd by t' have and t' hold,—But something pass'd away and sold.* | The Salisbury Missal of 1554 might have given satisfaction to the widow's scruple in this respect, had she lived at that time, where the woman promises to have and to hold but for one day: "I N. take thee N. for my wedded husband, to have and to hold, for this day." Missal. ad Uf. Eccl. Sarisburienf. Rothomagi, 1554. Ord. Sponsal. fol. 43.

v. 585, 586. For *when upon their ungot heirs—Th' entail themselves, and all that's theirs.*] Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. (see his 223d Tatler) seems to be no great friend to settlements and entails; and, for a motto, has borrowed these and the four following lines out of our poet.

v. 594. *Who's bound to vouch 'em for his own.*] See Belmour's remark,

595 Though got b' implicit generation,  
 And general club of all the nation;  
 For which she's fortify'd no less  
 Than all the island, with four seas;  
 Exacts the tribute of her dower,  
 600 In ready insolence and power;  
 And makes him pass away, to have  
 And hold, to her, himself, her slave.  
 More wretched than an ancient villain,  
 Condemn'd to drudgery and tilling;  
 605 While all he does upon the by

mark, Congreve's *Old Bachelor*, act i. sc. 4. I fear Bion's advice to Lucentio will not in all instances hold good: "Take you assurance of her, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum," &c. *Taming the Shrew*, act iv. vol. ii. p. 341.

v. 595. *Though got b' implicit generation.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (vol. ii. fab. 190, Of a seaman well provided for) says, "This is such another providence as that of the good woman's great belly in London, in the revolution of forty-one, when her husband had been three years in Plymouth. "'Tis true (says she), my husband has been three years away, but I have had very comfortable letters from him."

v. 598. *Than all the island, with four seas.*] By the common law of England, if the husband is within the four seas (the jurisdiction of the King of England), so that by intendment of law he may come to his wife, and his wife hath issue, no proof is to be admitted to prove the child a bastard, unless there is an apparent impossibility that the husband should be the father of it. If the husband is but eight years old, then such issue is a bastard, though born within marriage: But if the issue is born within a day after marriage, between parties of full age, when the husband is under no apparent impossibility, the child is legitimate, and supposed to be the child of the husband. Dr. Wood's *Institutes of the Laws of England*, 3d edit. p. 64. See Shakespeare's *Life and Death of King John*, act i. vol. iii. p. 171. Owen, in his *Epigrams*, lib. i. epigr. 38, is very severe upon persons under these unhappy circumstances:

"XXXVIII. Maritus et Mæchus.

*Maritus.* Hanc ego mi uxorem duxi, tulit alter amorem;  
 Sic vos, non vobis, mellificatis apes.



She is not bound to justify,  
 Nor at her proper cost and charge  
 Maintain the feats he does at large.  
 Such hideous fots were those obedient  
 610 Old vassals to their ladies regent,  
 To give the cheats the eldest hand  
 In foul play, by the laws o' th' land;  
 For which so many a legal cuckold  
 Has been run down in courts, and truckled.  
 615 A law that most unjustly yokes  
 All Johns of Stiles to Joans of Nokes,

*Mæchus.* Hos ego filiolos feci, tulit alter honores;  
 Sic vos, non vobis, nidificatis aves."

v. 603. *More wretched than an ancient villain.*] "*Villanage* (says the author of the printed notes) is an ancient tenure, by which the tenants were obliged to perform the most abject and slavish services for their lords." See an account of this tenure, Cowel's Interpreter, Selden's notes upon Drayton's Polyolbion. p. 302; Somner's Treatise of Gavel-kind, p. 58, 66, 72, 73, Bishop Kennet's edit.; Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary, Sheringham de Gentis Anglorum Origine, p. 56.

v. 613. *A legal cuckold.*] One that has proved himself such upon a legal trial with the cuckold-maker, in order to recover damages. See Sir Roger L'Estrange's merry story of a cuckold by the courtesy of England, part ii. fab. 148. "The story is well known (says Mr. Ray, English Proverbs, 2d edit. p. 69) of an old woman, who, hearing a young fellow call his dog Cuckold, said to him, Are you not ashamed to call a dog by a Christian's name?" See John Taylor's Wit and Mirth, Works, p. 186; the story of Sir Gervase Clifton and Sir Edmund Bacon, Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 141; Ephraim Weed's letter, Spectator, No. 450.

There is a very whimsical petition (Spectator, No. 629) of B. B. Esq; who desired the honour of knighthood for having cuckolded Sir T. W. a notorious Roundhead.

v. 616. *All Johns of Stiles to Joans of Nokes.*] Two fictitious names, only made use of by young lawyers in stating cases. These imaginary persons have been so long set at variance by the gentlemen of the long robe, that at length they grew weary of being involuntary

Without distinction of degree,  
 Condition, age, or quality;  
 Admits no power of revocation,  
 620 Nor valuable consideration,  
 Nor writ of error, nor reverse  
 Of judgment past, for better or worse;  
 Will not allow the privileges  
 That beggars challenge under hedges,  
 625 Who, when they're griev'd, can make dead  
 Their spiritual judges of divorces; [horses

involuntary opponents, and agreed to join in this humorous petition for relief to the Spectator.

"The humble Petition of John of Nokes and John of Stiles,  
 Sheweth,

That your petitioners have had causes depending in Westminster-hall above five hundred years; and that we despair of ever seeing them brought to an issue: That your petitioners have not been involved in these law-suits by any litigious temper of their own, but by the instigation of contentious persons: That the young lawyers in our inns of court are continually setting us together by the ears, and think they do us no hurt, because they plead for us without a fee: That many of the gentlemen of the robe have no other clients in the world besides us two: That, when they have nothing else to do, they make us plaintiffs and defendants, though they were never retained by either of us: That they traduce, condemn, or acquit us, without any manner of regard to our reputation and good names in the world. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that you will put an end to the controversies which have been so long depending between us, and that our enmity may not endure from generation to generation, it being our resolution to live hereafter as becometh men of peaceable dispositions."

Spectator, No. 577. See No. 563. (Mr. B.)

"Like him that wore the dialogue of cloaks,  
 This shoulder John of Stiles, that John of Nokes."

Cleveland's Works, p. 43.

v 627, 628. *While nothing else but rem in re—Can set the proudest wretches free.*] We have an instance to the contrary in the poor

While nothing else, but *rem in re*,  
 Can set the proudest wretches free;  
 A slavery beyond enduring,  
 630 But that 'tis of their own procuring:  
 As spiders never seek the fly,  
 But leave him, of himself, t' apply;  
 So men are by themselves employ'd,  
 To quit the freedom they enjoy'd,  
 635 And run their necks into a noose,  
 They'd break 'em after, to break loose.

poor Cavalier corporal (see Tatler, No. 164), who, being condemned to die, wrote this letter to his wife the day before he expected to suffer, thinking it would come to hand the day after his execution.

"Dear Wife,

Hoping you are in good health, as I am at this present writing, this is to let you know, that yesterday, between the hours of eleven and twelve, I was hanged, drawn, and quartered. I died very penitently, and every body thought my case very hard. Remember me kindly to my poor fatherless children.

Your's, till death, W. B."

"It so happened, that this honest fellow was relieved by a party of his friends, and had the satisfaction to see all the rebels hanged who had been his enemies. I must not omit a circumstance which exposed him to raillery his whole life after. Before the arrival of the next post, which would have set all things clear, his wife was married to a second husband, who lived in the peaceable possession of her; and the Corporal, who was a man of plain understanding, did not care to stir in the matter, as knowing that she had the news of his death under his own hand, which the might have produced upon occasion."

The Emperor Leo (as my very worthy and learned friend Dr. Dickins, professor of civil law in the university of Cambridge, informs me) allowed a separation in another case, viz. that of an incurable madness.

"Per conjugium iniquiunt, in corpus coiërunt, oportetque membrum alterum alterius morbos perpeti: et divinum præceptum est, quos



As some, when death would not depart,  
 Have done the feat themselves, by art :  
 Like Indian widows, gone to bed  
 640 In flaming curtains, to the dead ;  
 And men as often dangled for't,  
 And yet will never leave the sport.

quos Deus junxerit, ne separentur. Præclara quidem hæc et divina, utpote quæ a Deo pronunciata sint : verum non recte, neque secundum divinum propositum hic in medium adferuntur : si enim matrimonium talem statum conservaret, qualem ejus in principio pronuba exhibuisset : quisquis separaret, improbus profecto esset, neque reprehensionem effugeret. Jam vero cum præ furore ne vocem quidem humanam a muliere audias, ne dum aliud quidquam eorum, quæ ad oblectamentum et hilaritatem matrimonium largitur, ab illa obtineat : quis adeo acerbum horrendumque matrimonium dirimere nolit ? Ea propter sancimus, &c. Ut si quando post initum matrimonium, mulier in furorem incidat, ad tres annos infortunium maritus ferat, mæstitiamque tolleret : et nisi inter ea temporis ab isto malo illa liberetur, neque ad mentem redeat ; tunc matrimonium divellatur, maritusque ad intolerabili illa calamitate exoneretur." Imp. Leonis Novella CXI.

"Per Novellam sequentem : si maritus per matrimonii tempus in furorem incidat intra quinquennium, matrimonium solvi nequeat : eo autem elapso, si furor eum adhuc occupet, solvi possit."

v. 631, 632. *As spiders never seek the fly.—But leave him, of himself, to apply.*] This is a mistake, if what Mousset says be true, Insector. Theatr. p. 72. "Araneorum quædam genera muscas venantur, iis denique vescuntur ;" which is confirmed by Dr. Lister. Hist. de Araneis in Genene, lib. i. cap. v ; Hist. Animal. Angliæ, p. 11 ; De Araneis Oëtonoculis, part ii. tit. xxi. p. 70. "Huic araneo dum in reticuli vestibulo prædæ capiendæ invigilabat ; majusculam muscam conjeci, quam celeriter quidem arripuit, atque unico morsu, quantum notare potui, occidit.——"

Inter cæteras muscas omnigeni culices maximè ei arident : ejus autem venationis modum elegantissimis, verissimisque verbis enarravit Cl. Evelynius noster, apud doctissimum Hookium." Micrographiæ, observ. xlviii. id. ib. tit. xxxi. p. 88. See an account of darting spiders catching gnats, Philosophical Transactions, vol. iii. No. 50, p. 1015.

v. 633. ————— *employ'd.*] *Betray'd* in all editions, but query, whether *employ'd* is not a better reading.

v. 637. *Whom death would not depart.*] Alluding to the several reviews



Nor do the ladies want excuse  
 For all the stratagems they use,  
 645 To gain th' advantage of the set,  
 And lurch the amorous rook and cheat.  
 For as the Pythagorean soul  
 Runs thro' all beasts, and fish, and fowl,

reviews of the common prayer before the last, where it stands *Till death us depart*; and then altered, *Till death us do part*.

v. 639, 640. *Like Indian widows, gone to bed—In flaming curtains, to the dead.*] The women in England, who murder their husbands, as guilty of petty treason, are burnt. Jacob's Law Dictionary. The Indian custom is mentioned by several travellers. See Purchas's Pilgrims, part ii. p. 1724, 1749, 1750; Gemelli Careri; Churchill's Collections, vol. iv. p. 216; Thevenot's Travels, part iii. chap. xlix. p. 85. My friend, the Rev. Mr. W. Smith of Bedford, informs me, that he was assured by Dr. Paten, a person of veracity, who had enquired thoroughly into this affair in the East Indies, of two or three English merchants who had been up so far in the country as to be spectators, that the cruel scene was as follows: There was a large pile of wood got ready, and kindled as soon as the corps was laid thereon: The widow was worked up by spirituous liquors, as well as by the enthusiastic speeches of the Brachmans, till she was mad enough to do any thing; however, if she refused to throw herself in voluntarily, they then made her dead drunk, and threw her in, contrary to her natural inclinations. See Mr. Marshall's Letter to Dr. Coga, &c. Miscellanea Curiosa, vol. iii. p. 263, 2d edit. See the rise of this custom in the East Indies, Mr. G. Sandys's Notes upon the tenth book of Ovid's Metamorphosis, p. 193. This was anciently practised in some places, according to Diodorus Siculus (Bibliotheca, lib. xvii. p. 419, edit. Basil. 1548), who makes mention of a people conquered by Alexander the Great, where the wife was burnt with her dead husband; and gives the following reason for it: "Transit ad Catharos. quæ gens lege illud scitum habet, et observat; uti uxor cum marito mortuo incendatur: idque ob sceminæ cujusdam veneficium cum marito patratum, a barbaris institutum ferunt." See the same account, Sir John Maundevile's Voyage, &c. edit. 1727, chap. xv. p. 206, 207; and a remarkable story, Acofta's History of the Indies, lib. v. cap. vii. p. 346, of a Portuguese, with one eye, whom the Barbarians would have sacrificed to accompany a nobleman that was dead; who said unto them, "That those in the other world would make small account of their dead, if they gave him a blind man

- And has a smack of ev'ry one,  
 650 So love does, and has ever done :  
 And therefore, though 'tis ne'er so fond,  
 Takes strangely to the vagabond.  
 'Tis but an ague that's revers'd,  
 Whose hot fit takes the patient first,  
 655 That after burns with cold as much  
 As iron in Greenland does the touch ;  
 Melts in the furnace of desire,  
 Like glass, that's but the ice of fire ;  
 And when his heat of fancy's over,  
 660 Becomes as hard and frail a lover :  
 For when he's with love-powder laden,  
 And prim'd and cock'd by Miss or Madam,  
 The smallest sparkle of an eye  
 Gives fire to his artillery ;  
 665 And off the loud oaths go, but, while  
 They're in the very act, recoil.

for his companion ; and that they had better give him an attendant with both his eyes." The reason being found good by the Barbarians, they let him go.

v. 647. *For as the Pythagorean soul.*] Cornelius Agrippa (*De Anima*, Par. Poster. Op. cap. lii. p. 114) has put together the several opinions of the ancient heathen poets and philosophers upon this subject. Vide etiam Pancirolli *Rer. Memorab* par. i. tit. xlvii. p. 221. See Fum Hoam's *Transmigrations*, Chinese Tales, vol. i. ii.

Mr. Bulstrode has wrote an essay on transmigration, in defence of Pythagoras, an abstract of which is published by Mr. Stackhouse, in the appendix to his translation of Chinese Tales, 2d edit. 1740, p. 236. And Mr. Addison has merrily exposed this opinion, in Pug's letter to his mistress, *Spectator*, No. 343.

v. 656. *As iron in Greenland does the touch.*] Those persons who have been so unfortunate as to winter in Greenland, and survived it, tell us, that the cold is so extreme, that if they touch a piece

- Hence 'tis so few dare take their chance  
 Without a sep'rate maintenance;  
 And widows, who have try'd one lover,  
 670 Trust none again till th' have made over;  
 Or if they do, before they marry,  
 The foxes weigh the geese they carry,  
 And ere they venture o'er a stream,  
 Know how to size themselves and them:  
 675 Whence witti'ft ladies always chuse  
 To undertake the heaviest goose.  
 For now the world is grown so wary  
 That few of either sex dare marry,  
 But rather trust on tick t' amours,  
 680 The cros and pile for bett'r or worse;  
 A mode that is held honourable,  
 As well as French and fashionable:  
 For when it falls out for the best,  
 Where both are incommoded least,

piece of iron, it will stick to their fingers, and even bring off the skin. Some sailors, left there in King Charles II.'s time, confirm the truth of this, as may be seen at large in Harris's Collection of Voyages. See Moll's Geography, part ii. p. 28. edit. 1701; Lediard's Naval History, vol. i. p. 121, 122.

Iron and other metals burn upon the touch in Russia, (see Dr. Giles Fletcher's Account of Russia, Purchas's Pilgrims, part iii. lib. iii. p. 413) as appears from the story of a liquorish servant, who taking a pewter dish of some sweet sauce from his master's table into the next room, licked it, and paid the skin of his tongue for that sweet sauce.

And Mr. Purchas observes elsewhere, part iv. lib. vi. p. 1205, that Robert Harris, going to blow his nose with his fingers, in the Streights of Magellan, happened to cast it into the fire.

v. 672. *The foxes weigh the geese they carry.*] This story is mentioned by Sir K. Digby, Treatise of Bodies, chap. xxxvi. § xxxviii. p. 388, 1645, to which I refer the reader, and his reflections upon it.

- 685 In foul and body two unite,  
 To make up one Hermaphrodite ;  
 Still amorous, and fond, and billing,  
 Like Philip and Mary on a shilling,  
 Th' have more punctilios and capriches
- 690 Between the petticoat and breeches,  
 More petulant extravagances,  
 Than poets make 'em in romances ;  
 Though when their heroes' spouse the dames,  
 We hear no more of charms and flames :
- 695 For then their late attracts decline,  
 And turn as eager as prick'd wine ;

v. 686. *To make up one hermaphrodite.*] See an account of hermaphrodites, and the original of the name, Diodor. Sicul. Rer. Antiquar. lib. v. cap. i ; Spanish Mandeville, 1600, folio 7 ; Stowe's Annals, by Howes, p. 187 ; Haywood's Hierarchy of Angels, book vii. p. 477 ; Mr. G. Sandys's Notes upon the fourth book of Ovid's Metamorphosis, p. 94, edit. 1640 ; Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, sc. xxi. p. 389, 390 ; Cleveland's Works, upon an Hermaphrodite, edit. 1677, p. 25 ; An exact narrative of an hermaphrodite, Philosophical Transactions, No. 32, p. 624. vol. xvi. No. 186, p. 282 ; and Mr. Cheselden's Account of a Native of Angola, in Afric, shewn in London, 1740, Anatomy, 5th and 6th editions, p. 314.

v. 687, 688. *Still amorous, and fond, and billing,—Like Philip and Mary on a shilling.*]

“ Thus did nature's vintage vary,  
 Coining thee a Philip and Mary.”

Cleveland upon an Hermaphrodite, p. 27.

In Philip and Mary shillings (one of which I have by me, coined in the year 1555) the faces are placed opposite to each other, and pretty close.

v. 693, 694. *Though, when their heroes' spouse the dames,—We hear no more of charms and flames.*] Mr. Ray (in his English Proverbs, p. 63 produces some coarse proverbial sayings upon this subject. “ When a couple (says he) are newly married, the first month is honey moon, or smick-smack ; the second is hither and thither ; the third is thwick-thwack ; the fourth, the devil take them that brought thee and I together.”

Nay,



And all their catterwauling tricks,  
 In earnest to as jealous piques ;  
 Which th' ancients wisely signify'd  
 700 By th' yellow mantuas of the bride.  
 For jealousy is but a kind  
 Of clap and grincam of the mind,  
 The natural effects of love,  
 As other flames and aches prove :  
 705 But all the mischief is, the doubt  
 On whose account they first broke out.  
 For though Chineses go to bed,  
 And lie in, in their ladies stead,

Nay, the author of the *Tatler* observes (No. 150), "That he had known a fond couple quarrel in the very honey-moon."

v. 699, 700. *Which th' ancients wisely signify'd—By th' yellow mantuas of the bride.*] Juvenal thus describes Messalina, when she was going to be married to Silius, alluding to the colour of her mantle, sat. x. 333, 334.

—————"Dudum sedet illa parato  
 Flammeolo"————

"Adorn'd in bridal pomp, she sits in state." Mr. Dryden. *Lutei video honorem antiquissimum in nuptialibus flammeis totum in fœminis concessum.* Plinii. Nat. Hist. lib. xxi. cap. viii. Vide plura, Erasmi Op. vol. i. p. 1139 vol. v. p. 598; Guidonis Pancirolli *Rer. Memorab.* part i. tit. 59; *De Nuptiis*, p. 319; Char-tarii *Imagin. Deor. qui ab antiquis colebantur*, p. 136; *Notes upon Lucretius*, 1714, vol. i, p. 304, 305.

v. 702. ———— *Grincam.*] Altered to *Grincum*, 1710.

v. 707, 708. *For though Chineses go to bed,—And lie in, in their ladies stead.*] \* The Chinese men of quality, when the wives are brought to bed, are nursed and tended with as much care as women here, and are supplied with the best strengthening and nourishing diet, in order to qualify them for future services. This is the custom of the Brasilians, if we may believe Massæus (see *Purchase's Pilgrims*, vol. v. book ix. chap. iv. p. 906), who observes, "That women in travail are delivered without great difficulty, and

And, for the pains they took before,  
 710 Are nurs'd and pamper'd to do more ;  
 Our green-men do it worse, when th' hap  
 To fall in labour of a clap ;  
 Both lay the child to one another ;  
 But who's the father, who the mother,  
 715 'Tis hard to say in multitudes,  
 Or who imported the French goods.  
 But health and sickness b'ing all one,  
 Which both engag'd before to own,  
 And are not with their bodies bound  
 720 To worship only when they're found,  
 Both give and take their equal shares  
 Of all they suffer by false wares :  
 A fate no lover can divert  
 With all his caution, wit, and art.  
 725 For 'tis in vain to think to guess  
 At women by appearances ;

presently go about their household business : the husband in her stead keepeth his bed, is visited by his neighbours, hath his broths made him, and junkets sent to comfort him." See Baron Polnitz's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 396.

v. 719, 720. *And are not with their bodies bound—To worship—*] Alluding to the words to be spoken by the man in the office of matrimony : " With my body I thee worship," i. e. with my body I thee honour ; for so the word *worship* signifies in this place. Vide Buceri Script. Anglican. p. 443 ; Seldeni Uxor. Ebraic. lib. ii. cap. xxvii ; Mr. Wheatley's Rational Illustration, fol. edit. p. 410.

v. 725, 726. *For 'tis in vain to think to guess—At women by appearances.*] Do we think the widow speaks her own sentiments, or is sincere in her satire ? If she is, I am afraid she will lie under a heavy censure from the ladies for inveighing so freely against her own

- That paint and patch their imperfections  
 Of intellectual complexions ;  
 And daub their tempers o'er with washes  
 730 As artificial as their faces ;  
 Wear, under vizard-masks, their talents  
 And mother-wits, before their gallants ;  
 Until they're hamper'd in the noose,  
 Too fast to dream of breaking loose :  
 735 When all the flaws they strove to hide  
 Are made unready with the bride,  
 That with her wedding-cloaths undresses  
 Her complaisance and gentilefles ;  
 Tries all her arts to take upon her  
 740 The government, from th' easy owner :  
 Until the wretch is glad to wave  
 His lawful right and turn her slave ;  
 Find all his having and his holding,  
 Reduc'd t' eternal noise and scolding ;

own sex, and revealing their secrets. But, after all, what have the ladies to fear from this female satirist? Nothing; for as long as love continues to be (as it has hitherto) a blind, universal, and irresistible passion, they need not fear any diminution of their conquests from such satirical railleries. (Mr. B.)

v. 730. *As artificial as their faces.*] See Spectator, No. 41.

v. 735. *When all their flaws they strove to hide, &c.*] See Devil upon two Sticks, vol. i. p. 32, 6th edit.; Dean Swift's Description of Corinna, Miscellanies, vol. v. p. 28; and the story of the young Florentine, Lupton's Thousand notable Things, book xi. § xxxix. p. 328; Lady's Travels into Spain, part ii. letter vii. p. 120, 5th edit.

v. 743, 744. *Find all his having and his holding—Reduc'd t' eternal noise and scolding.*] Vide Juvenal, sat. vi. 283, &c.; Chaucer's Prologue to the Merchant's Tale, and the Tale itself, fol. 21, edit.

- 745 The conjugal petard, that tears  
 Down all portcullices of ears,  
 And makes the volley of one tongue  
 For all their leathern shields too strong;  
 When only arm'd with noise, and nails,  
 750 The female silk-worms ride the males,

1603; Machiavel's Marriage of Belphegor: L'Estrange's Fable of a Woman and Thrushes, vol. i. fab. 428; Old Cheese, Dr King's Miscellanies; Poggins's Fable of a Tailor and his Wife; L'Estrange's Fables, part i. fab. 354, fab. 423, Of a bladder with Beans in it.

At Pekin, in China, there are houses or hospitals for the dumb, supported by the fines imposed upon regraters and scolding women (Purchase's Pilgrims, part iii. lib. ii. p. 276). See the method of curing scolds at Newcastle and Walsal in Staffordshire, by an iron collar about the neck, and a plate of iron put in the mouth to keep the tongue down, Dr. Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire, chap. ix. § xcvi. p. 389.

v. 745, 746. *The conjugal petard, that tears—Down all portcullices of ears.*] *Petard*, an hollow engine made of metal, in the form of a high crowned hat, charged with fine powder, and fixed to a thick plank, called the *madrier*, in order to break down gates, portcullices, &c. Bailey's Dictionary.

*Port Cullis*, a falling gate or door, like a harrow, hung over the gates of fortified places, let down to keep an enemy out of a city. Bailey.

Petruchio, in the Taming of the Shrew (Shakespeare's Works, vol. ii. p. 291), seems to question the truth of this assertion.

“ Think you (says he) a little din can daunt my ears?  
 Have I not in my time heard lions roar?  
 Have I not heard the sea, puff'd up with winds,  
 Rage like an angry boar chafed with sweat?  
 Have I not heard great ordnance in the field?  
 And heaven's artillery thunder in the skies?  
 Have I not in a pitched battle heard  
 Loud larmes, neighing steeds, and trumpets clang?  
 And do you tell me of a woman's tongue,  
 That gives not half so great a blow to hear,  
 As will a chesnut in a farmer's fire?  
 Tush, tush, fear boys with bugs.”



Transform 'em into rams and goats,  
 Like Syrens, with their charming notes;  
 Sweet as a screech-owl's serenade,  
 Or those enchanting murmurs made  
 755 By th' husband mandrake and the wife,  
 Both bury'd (like themselves) alive.

v. 750. *The female silk worms ride the males.*] See Virginia's Discovery of Silk worms, by Edward Williams, 1650, p. 26.

v. 751, 752. *Transform 'em into rams and goats,—Like Syrens, with their charming notes.*] \* The Syrens, according to the poets, were three sea-monsters, half women and half fish; their names were Parthenope, Ligea, and Leucosia. Their usual residence was about the island of Sicily, where, by the charming melody of their voices, they used to detain those that heard them, and then transformed them into some sort of brute animals.

“Monstra maris Sirenes erant: quæ voce canorâ  
 Quam libet admittas detinuere rates.”

Ovid de Arte Amandi, lib. iii. 311, 312.

Vide not. varior. Naucleri Chronograph. vol. ii. Generat. 20, p. 625; Purchase's Pilgrims, part iv. lib. vi. p. 1240. lib. x. p. 1887; Webster's Displaying of supposed Witchcraft, ch. xv. p. 285, 286, 287.

v. 753. *Sweet as a screech-owl's serenade.*] See Bysche's Art of Poetry, 7th edit. vol. ii. p. 96, from Mr. Dryden's Virgil.

v. 754, 755. *Or those enchanting murmurs made—By th' husband mandrake and the wife.*] \* Naturalists report, that if a male and female mandrake lie near each other, there will often be heard a sort of murmuring noise.

Vide Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxv. cap. xiii; Levini Lemnii Herbar. Biblior. Explicat. cap. ii. p. 14, &c.; Michael Drayton's England's Heroical Epistles, p. 95; Gondibert, by Sir William Davenant, book ii. canto iv. § xlvi. p. 161. book iii. canto vi. § lxi. p. 340; New Memoirs of Milton's Life, by Mr. Peck, p. 248; Sir Thomas Browne has confuted this vulgar notion, Vulgar Errors, book ii. chap. vi.

It is reported, that the mandrake grows commonly under the gallows. To this Glareanus Vadianus alludes, in his Panegyric upon T. Coryat and his Crudities.

“A mandrake grown under some heavy tree. (*Gallows near Exeter.*  
 There, where St. Nicholas Knights, not long before,  
 Had dropp'd their fat axungia to the lee.”

v. 757.

Quoth he, These reasons are but strains  
 Of wanton over-heated brains,  
 Which ralliers, in their wit or drink,  
 760 Do rather wheedle with than think.  
 Man was not man in paradise,  
 Until he was created twice,  
 And had his better half, his bride,  
 Carv'd from th' original, his side,  
 765 T' amend his natural defects,  
 And perfect his recruiting sex,

v. 757. *Quoth he, These reasons are but strains, &c.*] The Knight seems here to have too much courage and good sense to be baffled by the artful widow; for he defends matrimony with more wit, and a greater justness, than she had discovered in the ridiculing of it. This must certainly yield a sublime satisfaction to the married readers; though it must be confessed, that, in her reply to this defence, she hits upon a topic which very sensibly affected our Knight, and in him all those unhappy wretches whose pretended love is actuated by riches and possessions. (Mr. B.)

v. 761, 762. *Man was not man in paradise,—Until he was created twice*] Du Bartas speaks something like this, *Divine Weeks*, p. 225.

“ You that have seen within this ample table,  
 Among so many models admirable,  
 The admir'd beauties of the king of creatures,  
 Come, come, and see the woman's rapturing features,  
 Without whom here man were but half a man,  
 But a wild wolf, but a barbarian.—  
 God, therefore, not to seem less liberal  
 To man than else to every animal,  
 For perfect pattern of a holy love,  
 To Adam's half another half he gave;  
 Ta'en from his side, to bind through ev'ry age  
 With kinder bonds the sacred marriage.”

See a tract, entitled, *Female Pre-eminence, &c.* by Henry Cornelius Agrippa, translated by Henry Care, p. 6; Publ. Libr. Cambridge, xiv. 6. 24.

- Enlarge his breed, at once, and lessen  
 The pains and labour of increas'ing,  
 By changing them for other cares,  
 770 As by his dry'd up paps appears.  
 His body, that stupendous frame,  
 Of all the world the anagram,  
 Is of two equal parts compact,  
 In shape and fymmetry exact,  
 775 Of which the left and female fide  
 Is to the manly right a bride,

v. 764. *Carv'd from th' original, his fide.*]

"Adam, till his rib was loft,  
 Had the fexes thus ingrofs'd,  
 When Providence our fire did cleave,  
 And out of Adam carved Eve;  
 Then did man about wedlock treat,  
 To make his body up complete." Cleveland's Works, p. 25.

"Extraxit Deus unam costam de latere ejus, et ex illâ formavit mulierem, quam Evam nominavit. Et non formavit eam de capite, ne viro dominaretur: nec de pede, ne a viro contemneretur: sed de latere formavit eam, ut amoris mutui vinculo jungerentur." Gobelini Personæ Cosmodromii, æt. i. Meibomii Rer. Germanic. tom. i. p. 73.

Plato recites a fable (Qu. Conviv. p. 322, edit. Lugdun. 1590) how man at first was created double, and for his arrogance dissected into male and female (see Sandys's Notes upon Ovid's Metamorph. b. iv. p. 79, edit. 1640). In the Romish Missal (vide Ord. Sponsal. ad Usum Eccles. Sarisburiens. 1554, fol. 42), the Papists seem to think that woman was taken from the left side, and therefore man is to take the right hand whilst the marriage-ceremony is performing.

"Vir autem stet a dextris mulieris; mulier autem a sinistris viri: causa est, quia formata est ex costâ sinistri lateris Adamæ.

Some have imagined, that man has one rib less than women; which is ridiculed by Sir Tho. Browne, Vulgar Errors, book vii. chap. ii.

v. 771. *His body, that stupendous frame, &c.*] See Cleveland's poem upon a Hermaphrodite, edit. 1677, p. 26.

v. 772.

Both join'd together with such art,  
 That nothing else but death can part.  
 Those heavenly attracts of yours, your eyes,  
 780 And face, that all the world surprize,  
 That dazzle all that look upon ye,  
 And scorch all other ladies tawny,  
 Those ravishing and charming graces,  
 Are all made up for two half faces,  
 785 That in a mathematic line,  
 Like those in other heavens, join,  
 Of which, if either grew alone,  
 'Twould fright as much to look upon;  
 And so would that sweet bud, your lip,  
 790 Without the other's fellowship.  
 Our noblest senses act by pairs,  
 Two eyes to see, to hear two ears;  
 Th' intelligencers of the mind,  
 To wait upon the soul design'd;  
 795 But those that serve the body alone,  
 Are single, and confin'd to one.  
 The world is but two parts, that meet  
 And close at th' equinoctial fit;  
 And so are all the works of nature,

v. 772. ——— *Anagram.*] See Bailey's Dictionary.

v. 797. *The world is but two parts, &c.*] \* The equinoctial divides the globe into north and south.

v. 819 *Unless among the Amazons, &c.*] \* The Amazons were women of Scythia, of heroic and great achievements. They suffered no man to live among them, but once every year used to have conversation with men of the neighbouring countries; by which if they had a male child, they presently either killed or crippled it; but if a female, they brought it up to the use of  
 arms,



- 800 Stamp'd with her signature on matter;  
 Which all her creatures, to a leaf,  
 Or smallest blade of grass, receive.  
 All which sufficiently declare  
 How entirely marriage is her care,
- 805 The only method that she uses,  
 In all the wonders she produces;  
 And those that take their rules from her,  
 Can never be deceiv'd nor err:  
 For what secures the civil life
- 810 But pawns of children, and a wife?  
 That lie, like hostages, at stake,  
 To pay for all men undertake;  
 To whom it is as necessary,  
 As to be born and breathe, to marry.
- 815 So universal, all mankind,  
 In nothing else, is of one mind.  
 For in what stupid age or nation  
 Was ever marriage out of fashion?  
 Unless among the Amazons,
- 820 Or cloister'd friars and vestal nuns;  
 Or stoics, who, to bar the freaks  
 And loose excesses of the sex,

arms, and burnt off one breast, leaving the other to suckle girls. See an account of the Amazons, Diodor. Sicul. Rer. Antiquar. lib. iii. cap. xi; Justini Hist. lib. ii. cap. iv; Chronicor. Regionis, &c. lib. ii; Pistorii Hist. Scriptor. Germanicor. vol. i. p. 65; Naucleri Chronograph. vol. i. generat. xvi; Sheringham de Gentis Anglorum Origine, p. 377, 379, 380; Sir John Mandeville's Voyage, &c. p. 186; Sandys's note upon Ovid's Metamorph. b. 9.

v. 821, 822, 823, 824. *Or Stoics, who, to bar the freaks—And loose excesses*

- Prepost'rously would have all women  
 Turn'd up to all the world in common.
- 825 Though men would find such mortal feuds  
 In sharing of their public goods,  
 'Twould put them to more charge of lives,  
 Than they're supply'd with now by wives;  
 Until they graze, and wear their clothes,
- 830 As beasts do, of their native growths:  
 For simple wearing of their horns  
 Will not suffice to serve their turns.  
 For what can we pretend t' inherit,  
 Unless the marriage-deed will bear it?
- 835 Could claim no right to lands or rents,  
 But for our parents settlements;  
 Had been but younger sons o' th' earth,  
 Debarr'd it all, but for our birth.  
 What honours, or estates of peers,
- 840 Could be preserv'd but by their heirs;  
 And what security maintains  
 Their right and title, but the banes?

*excesses of the sex,—Prepost'rously would have all women—Turn'd up to all the world in common.]* Of this opinion was Plato in his Politics; for which Primeauday animadverts upon him, French Academy, 1602, p 462. Diodorus Siculus makes mention of certain islanders who put this opinion in practice (Rer. Antiquar. lib. iii. cap. xiii): "Mulieres minime nubunt, sed omnibus sunt communes—Et talem morem apud Calecutios adhuc esse, scribit Munster, Cosmograph. lib. v. Sic et apud Tyrrhenos communia conjugia fuere, referente Theopompo, &c. Et quorum liberi ex communi fisco nutriebantur."—Facet. Facetiar.—Fascicul. Nov. de Hanrietate, xi. p. 433, 434. This was the custom amongst the ancient Britons, Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Gallico, lib. v. 14. 4. "Uxores habent deni, duodenique inter se communes. Sed si

1

qui

- What crowns could be hereditary,  
 If greatest monarchs did not marry?  
 845 And with their consorts consummate  
 Their weightiest interests of state?  
 For all the amours of princes are  
 But guarantees of peace or war.  
 Or what but marriage has a charm,  
 850 The rage of empires to disarm?  
 Make blood and desolation cease,  
 And fire and sword unite in peace,  
 When all their fierce contests for forage  
 Conclude in articles of marriage?  
 855 Nor does the genial bed provide  
 Less for the int'rests of the bride;  
 Who else had not the least pretence  
 T' as much as due benevolence;  
 Could no more title take upon her  
 860 To virtue, quality, and honour,  
 Than ladies errant unconfin'd  
 And feme-coverts t' all mankind.

qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, a quibus primum virgines quæque ductæ sunt."

See Purchase's description of Iambuli Insula, vol. i. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 80; and at Cochín, where wives are in common, Le Blanc's Travels, part i. p. 62.

v. 831, 832. *For simple wearing of their horns—Will not suffice to serve their turns* ] See Sir Francis Bacon's Apophthegms, No. 81. Resuscitatio, 3d edit. p. 235.

v. 842. ——— *banes*.] See *Banns*, Godolphin's Repertorium Canonicum, chap. xxxiii. p. 465.

v. 848. ——— *guarantees*.] See Bailey, and other etymological dictionaries.

All women would be of one piece,  
 The virtuous matron, and the miss;  
 865 The nymphs of chaste Diana's train,  
 The same with those in Lewkner's lane;  
 But for the difference marriage makes  
 'Twixt wives and ladies of the lakes:  
 Besides the joys of place and birth,  
 870 The sexes paradise on earth;  
 A privilege so sacred held,  
 That none will to their mothers yield;  
 But, rather than not go before,  
 Abandon heaven at the door.  
 875 And if th' indulgent law allows

v. 865. *The nymphs of chaste Diana's train.*] \* Diana's nymphs, all of whom vowed perpetual virginity, and were much celebrated for the exact observation of their vow.

v. 866 *Lewkner's lane*] \* Some years ago swarmed with notoriously lascivious and profligate strumpets.

v. 868. *'Twixt wives and ladies of the lakes.*] Meaning the stewes, and alluding to the old romance of Sir Lancelot and the Lady of the Lake. (Mr. W.)

v. 869, 870. *Besides the joys of place and birth,—The sex's paradise on earth.*] The passion for precedence among the ladies is too violent and visible to be disputed. Mr. Pope has satirized it in his *Rape of the Lock*:

“ First Ariel perch'd upon a matadore,  
 Then each according to the rank they bore:  
 For Sylphs, yet mindful of their ancient race,  
 Are, as when women, wondrous fond of place.” (Mr. B.)

Timothy Treatall was indicted in the Tatler's Court of Honour, see No. 262, by several ladies of his sister's acquaintance, for a very rude affront offered them at an entertainment to which he had invited them; when he, the said Mr. Treatall, upon serving up the supper, desired the ladies to take place according to their different ages and seniority, for that it was the way at his table to pay



A greater freedom to the spouse,  
 The reason is because the wife  
 Runs greater hazards of her life ;  
 Is trusted with the form and matter  
 880 Of all mankind, by careful Nature.  
 Where man brings nothing but the stuff  
 She frames the wondrous fabric of ;  
 Who therefore, in a streight, may freely  
 Demand the clergy of her belly,  
 885 And make it save her the same way  
 It seldom misses to betray,  
 Unless both parties wisely enter  
 Into the liturgy indenture.

pay respect to years. This indictment sets forth, that this behaviour produced an unspeakable confusion in the company. The author of a book, entitled, *The Devil upon two Sticks* (6th edit. part i. p. 237) observes, "That the wife of the treasurer-general of the council of the Indies run mad with vexation at being obliged to turn her coach in a narrow street, to make way for that of the Dukes of Medina Cœli." See Dr. Harris's *Astronomical Dialogues*, 2d edit. p. 19.

v. 884. *Demand the clergy of her belly.*] This was and is allowed to criminals with child. See Wood's *Institute of the Laws of England*, p. 662. It was a privilege allowed by the Egyptians and other nations, who thought it a hardship to destroy the innocent child with the guilty mother. Vide Diodori Siculi *Rer. Antiquar. lib. ii. cap. iii. De Legibus et Judiciis Ægyptiorum*.

v. 888. *Into the liturgy indenture.*] The generality of the Presbyterians were then married in the manner enjoined by the Directory, and not by the Liturgy, though there were some few instances to the contrary ; and, among these, Mr. Stephen Marshall (who was a zealot, and had a chief hand in compiling the Directory) did marry his own daughter by the form prescribed in the Common Prayer, being unwilling to have his daughter returned to him as a whore, for want of a legal marriage, the statute establishing the Liturgy not being repealed ; and having so done, he

- And though some fits of small contest  
 890 Sometimes fall out among the best;  
 That is no more than every lover  
 Does from his hackney-lady suffer:  
 That makes no breach of faith and love,  
 But rather (sometimes) serves t' improve.  
 895 For, as in running, every pace  
 Is but between two legs a race,  
 In which both do their uttermost  
 To get before, and win the post;  
 Yet when they're at their race's ends,  
 900 They're still as kind and constant friends,

paid down five pounds immediately to the churchwardens of the parish, as the fine or forfeiture for using any other form of marriage but that in the Directory. Heylin's *Examen Historicum*, p. 364; Walker's *History of Independency*, part i. p. 80; Sir John Birkenhead seems to sneer such kind of marriages, Paul's Church-yard, cent. i. class. iii. sect. 42. "Liber crassus tres pollices; A Catalogue of such Women as are not Wives, Maids, nor Widows, being married without either law or liturgy, some by a Directory, and some by nothing."

By an ordinance of August 1653, chap. vi. (Schobel's *Collections*, 2d part, p. 236) it was enacted, "That all persons intending to be married shall come before some justice of the peace within and of the same county, city, or town corporate, where publication shall be made as aforesaid, and shall bring a certificate of the said publication (in church or chapel, or, if the parties so to be married shall desire it, in the market-place next to the said church or chapel, on three market-days, on three several weeks ensuing), and shall make sufficient proof of the consent of their parents and guardians, if either of the said parties is under the age of one and twenty years; and the said justice shall examine, by witnesses upon oath, or otherwise, as he shall see cause, concerning the due performance of the premises; and if there appear no reasonable cause to the contrary, the marriage shall proceed in this manner: The man to be married, taking the woman to be married by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these words: "I A. B. do, in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee C. D. for my wedded wife, and do also, in the presence

And, to relieve their weariness,  
 By turns give one another ease :  
 So all those false alarms of strife,  
 Between the husband and the wife,  
 905 And little quarrels, often prove  
 To be but new recruits of love :  
 When those wh' are always kind or coy,  
 In time must either tire or cloy.  
 Nor are their loudest clamours more,  
 910 Than as they're relish'd, sweet or sour :  
 Like music, that proves bad, or good,  
 According as 'tis understood.

presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband."

The woman promises, in the same form, to be a loving, faithful, and obedient wife.

" And it is further enacted, That the man and woman having made sufficient proof of the consent of their parents or guardians, and expressed their consent unto marriage, in the manner and by the words foresaid, before such justice of the peace, in the presence of two or more credible witnesses, the said justice of the peace may and shall declare the said man and woman to be thenceforth husband and wife; and the marriage shall be good and effectual in law: and no other marriage whatsoever, within the commonwealth of England, after the 29th of September 1653, shall be held or accounted a marriage according to the laws of England."

v. 905, 906. *And little quarrels often prove,—To be but new recruits of love.*] "Amantium iræ amoris integratio est." Terentii Andr. iii. iii. 23.

"In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; injuriæ, suspiciones, Inimicitia, induciæ, bellum, pax rursum."

Terentii Eunuch.

"Sometimes my plague, sometimes my darling,  
 Kissing to-day, to-morrow snarling."

Prior. See Guardian, No. 73.

In all amours a lover burns,  
 With frowns, as well as smiles, by turns ;  
 915 And hearts have been as oft with fullen,  
 As charming looks, surpris'd and stolen :  
 Then why should more bewitching clamour  
 Some lovers not as much enamour ?  
 For discords make the sweetest airs,  
 920 And curses are a kind of prayers ;  
 Too flight alloys, for all those grand  
 Felicities by marriage gain'd.  
 For nothing else has power to settle  
 Th' interests of love perpetual ;  
 925 An act and deed, that makes one heart  
 Become another's counter-part,  
 And passes fines on faith and love,  
 Enroll'd and register'd above,  
 To seal the slippery knots of vows,  
 930 Which nothing else but death can loose.  
 And what security's too strong,  
 To guard that gentle heart from wrong,  
 That to its friend is glad to pass

v. 935. *And like an Anchorit, &c.*] Anchorets were ancient monks, who retired from society, and lived in private cells ; such were Paul, Anthony, and Hilarian, the first founders of the monastic life in Egypt and Palestine. See a larger account, Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book vii. ch. ii. vol. iii. p. 13.

v. 954. *As sucking children are by elves.*] Some are of opinion that fairies (called elves by Chaucer, Spenser, and other writers, as Sheringham de Gentis Anglor. Orig. cap. iv. p. 320, 326 ; Skinner's Lexic. Etymologic. sub voce *Elf*) change children in their cradles, and lay others in their stead. To which Spenser alludes, *Fairy Queen*, b. i. canto x. Stan. xxxv. vol. i. p. 138.



Itself away, and all it has :

935 And like an Anchoret gives over  
This world for th' heaven of a lover ?

I grant (quoth she) there are some few  
Who take that course, and find it true :  
But millions whom the same does sentence

940 To heaven, b' another way, repentance.

Love's arrows are but shot at rovers,  
Though all they hit, they turn to lovers,  
And all the weighty consequents  
Depend upon more blind events,

945 Than gamesters, when they play a set

With greatest cunning at piquet,  
Put out with caution, but take in  
They know not what, unsight unseen.  
For what do lovers, when they're fast

950 In one another's arms embrac'd,  
But strive to plunder, and convey  
Each other, like a prize, away ?

To change the property of selves,  
As sucking children are by elves ?

" For well I wote thou spring'st from ancient race  
Of Saxon kings, that have with mighty hand  
And many bloody battles fought in place,  
High rear'd their royal throne in Britain—land,  
And vanquish'd them, unable to withstand :

From thence a fairy thee unweeting reft,  
There, as thou slept, in tender swaddling band,  
And her base elfin brood there for thee left ;

Such men do changelings call, so changed by fairy theft."

Thus Henry IV. speaking of Prince Henry his son, to the Earl

955 And if they use their persons so,  
 What will they to their fortunes do ?  
 Their fortunes ! the perpetual aims  
 Of all their ecstasies and flames.  
 For when the money's on the book,  
 960 And *all my worldly goods* but spoke,  
 (The formal livery and seisin  
 That puts a lover in possession)  
 To that alone the bridegroom's wedded,  
 The bride a flam, that's superseded.

of Northumberland, whose son was hopeful, Shakespeare's first part of Henry IV. act i. vol. iii. p. 346.

“ ——— Oh could it be prov'd ———  
 That some night tripping fairy had exchang'd  
 In cradle cloaths our children where they lay,  
 And call'd mine Piercy, his Plantagenet,——  
 Then would I have his Harry, and he mine.”

See Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act ii. Works, vol. i. p. 81 ; Ben Jonson's *Underwood*, Works, vol. i. p. 208 ; Warner's *Albion's England*, book xiv. chap. xci. p. 368.

Nay some have thought, that the devil takes children out of the cradle, and lays children of his own in their place. Luther was of this opinion : For in his *Mensalia*, or *Table Talk*, ch. xxxv. p. 387, he says, “Such changelings supponit Satan in locum verorum filiorum :—One of these more fouleth itself than ten other children ; so that their parents are much disquieted therewith, and their mothers are able to give suck no more.” This is hinted at by the author of *Amadis de Gaul*, third book, chap. x. p. 99, in his romantic account of Andriagus, slain by Amadis, who was a monster of the devil's begetting, and sucked out the heart's blood of three nurses in a few days.

The author of the *Devil upon two Sticks* merrily banters this opinion, in the characters of Asmodeo and Senior Divito, Twin-brothers, part i. chap. iii. p. 19. Mr. Glanvil seems to give in to the opinion of the devil's begetting children, from Dr. Horneck's account of some witches condemned in Sweden 1669. See *Saducismus Triumphatus*, part ii. p. 322. But Wierus has exposed this opinion, *De Præstig. Dæmon. lib. i. cap. xxiv. p. 129, lib. iii. cap. xx. p. 322* ; and Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book iv. chap.

965 To that their faith is still made good,  
 And all the oaths to us they vow'd :  
 For, when we once resign our powers,  
 W' have nothing left we can call ours :  
 Our money's now become the mis  
 970 Of all your lives and services ;  
 And we forsaken and postpon'd,  
 But bawds to what before we own'd ;  
 Which, as it made y' at first gallant us,  
 So now hires others to supplant us,

chap. ii. p. 74, &c. chap. x. p. 85. See this point discussed, tom. xi. Malleor. Maleficar. 1588, p. 84; Public Library, Cambridge, K. 16, 24.

v. 959. *For when the money's on the book.*] Alluding to the minister's and clerk's fees, which are ordered by the Rubric to be laid upon the book (though now rarely practised) with the wedding ring. Before the time of Pope Innocent III. (see Marriage, Jacob's Law Dictionary) "there was no solemnization of marriage in the church, but the man came to the house where the woman inhabited, and led her home to his own house, which was all the ceremony then used."

v. 960. *And all my worldly goods but spoke.*] See Mr. Wheatley's Rational Illustration of the Common Prayer, folio edit. p. 407, 410.

v. 985, 986. *Who takes it for a special grace,—To be their cully for a space.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (Fables, part i. fab. 308, A wicked Man and the Devil) makes mention of a notorious wicked malefactor, who had committed I know not how many villanies, and had run through the discipline of so many gaols, who made a friend of the devil to help him out in all his distresses. This friend of his brought him off many and many a time, and still as he was taken up again and again, he had his recourse over and over to the same devil for succour; but, upon his last summons, the devil came to him with a great bag of old shoes at his back, and told him plainly, "Friend (says he), I am at the end of my line, and can help you no longer; I have beat the hoof, till I have worn out all these shoes in your service, and not one penny left me to buy more; so that you must even excuse me if I drop you here."

- 975 Until 'tis all turn'd out of doors,  
 (As we had been) for new amours.  
 For what did ever heirefs yet,  
 By being born to lordships, get?  
 When, the more lady sh' is of manors,  
 980 She's but expos'd to more trepanners,  
 Pays for their projects and designs,  
 And for her own destruction fines:  
 And does but tempt them with her riches,  
 To use her as the devil does witches;  
 985 Who takes it for a special grace,  
 To be their cully for a space,  
 That, when the time's expir'd, the drazels  
 For ever may become his vassals:  
 So she, bewitch'd by rooks and spirits,  
 990 Betrays herself, and all sh' inherits;  
 Is bought and sold, like stolen goods,  
 By pimps, and match-makers, and bawds;  
 Until they force her to convey,  
 And steal the thief himself away.  
 995 These are the everlasting fruits  
 Of all your passionate love-suits,  
 Th' effects of all your amorous fancies,  
 To portions and inheritances;  
 Your love-sick rapture, for fruition  
 1000 Of dowry, jointure, and tuition,

v. 987. ——— *the drazels.*] A word used by Warner, in his *Albion's England*, book ix. chap. xlvii. p. 201.

"Now dwells each droffel in her glass, when I was young I wot  
 On Hollydays, (for seldom else) such idle times we got."



- To which you make addrefs and courtſhip,  
And with your bodies ſtrive to worſhip,  
That th' infant's fortunes may partake  
Of love too for the mother's ſake.
- 1005 For theſe you play at purpoſes,  
And love your loves with A's and B's;  
For theſe, at *beſte* and *l'ombre* woo,  
And play for love and money too;  
Strive who ſhall be the ableſt man
- 1010 At right gallanting of a fan;  
And who the moſt genteelly bred  
At fucking of a vizard-bead;  
How beſt t' accoſt us, in all quarters,  
T' our queſtion and command new garters;
- 1015 And ſolidly diſcourſe upon  
All forts of dreſſes, pro and con.  
For there's no myſtery nor trade  
But in the art of love is made.  
And when you have more debts to pay
- 1020 Than Michaelmas and Lady-Day,  
And no way poſſible to do't  
But love and oaths, and reſtleſs ſuit,  
To us y' apply, to pay the ſcores  
Of all your cully'd paſt amours;
- 1025 Act o'er your flames and darts again,  
And charge us with your wounds and pain;

v.1010. *At right gallanting of a fan.*] See the exerciſe of the fan humorouſly deſcribed by Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq; Tatler, No. 102. At Bologna in Italy, where it is extremely hot, it is a cuſtom for the men to uſe fans, as well as the women. Miſſon's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 203.

Which others influences long since  
 Have charm'd your noses with, and shins;  
 For which the surgeon is unpaid,  
 1030 And like to be, without our aid.  
 Lord! what an amorous thing is want!  
 How debts and mortgages enchant!  
 What graces must that lady have,  
 That can from executions save!  
 1035 What charms, that can reverse extent,  
 And null decree and exigent!  
 What magical attracts, and graces,  
 That can redeem from *scire facias*!  
 From bonds and statutes can discharge,  
 1040 And from contempts of courts enlarge!  
 These are the highest excellences  
 Of all your true or false pretences:

v. 1035. ——— *extent.*] A writ of commission from the sheriff, for valuing lands and tenements.

v. 1036. *And null decree and exigent.*] *Exigent*, a writ lying where the defendant, in an action personal, cannot be found, or any thing in the county whereby he may be attached or distrained.

v. 1038. ————— *scire facias.*] A writ, calling one to shew, why judgment passed, at least a year, should not be executed.

v. 1043, 1044. ————— *and swear—As much to an hostess down-ager.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (fable of a Cavalier and Court Lady, part ii. fab. 34), in banter of such flights, observes, "That a Cavalier had a fine woman in his eye, and could not forbear telling her, that she was wondrous pretty. Sir, says the lady, I thank you for your good opinion; and I wish, with all my heart, I could say as much of you too. Why so you might, madam, (says the gentleman) if you made no more conscience of a lie than I do." See Chaucer's poem, entitled, A Praise of Women, edit 1602, fol. 261; Sir William Cornwallley's Essay 24. Of Fantastickness, edit. 1610.

v. 1045,

And you would damn yourselves, and swear  
 As much t' an hostess dowager,  
 1045 Grown fat and purfy by retail  
 Of pots of beer and bottled ale;  
 And find her fitter for your turn,  
 For fat is wondrous apt to burn;  
 Who at your flames would soon take fire,  
 1050 Relent, and melt to your desire,  
 And, like a candle in the socket,  
 Dissolve her graces int' your pocket.

By this time 'twas grown dark and late,  
 When they heard a knocking at the gate,  
 1055 Laid on in haste with such a powder,  
 The blows grew louder still and louder;  
 Which Hudibras, as if th' had been  
 Bestow'd as freely on his skin,

v. 1045, 1046. *Grown fat and purfy by retail—Of pots of beer and bottled ale.*] See Warner's description of a hostess, Albion's England, book xv. chap. xcix. p. 391, 392.

v. 1053, 1054. *By this time 'twas grown dark and late,—When they heard a knocking at the gate.*] Two days were but yet passed since the beginning of these adventures. We are now entering into the night wherein happened the most remarkable action in the whole poem. Mr. Butler, in this piece of management, imitated Homer and Virgil, who are equally celebrated for their night adventures. But who are the persons that knock at the gate? Probably two of the Lady's own servants: For as she and Ralpho (who all the time lay in ambuscade) had been descanting on the Knight's villanies; so they had undoubtedly laid this scheme to be revenged of him: The servants were disguised, and acted in a bold and hectoring manner, pursuant to the instruction given them by the Widow. See Canto iii. v. 83. The Knight was to be made believe they were Sidrophel and Whachum, which made his fright and consternation so great, that we find him falling into a swoon. (Mr. B.)

Expounding by his inward light,  
 1060 Or rather more prophetic fright,  
 To be the wizard, come to search,  
 And take him napping in the lurch,  
 Turn'd pale as ashes, or a clout;  
 But why, or wherefore, is a doubt:  
 1065 For men will tremble, and turn paler,  
 With too much or too little valour.  
 His heart laid on, as if it try'd  
 To force a passage through his side,  
 Impatient (as he vow'd) to wait 'em,  
 1070 But in a fury to fly at 'em;  
 And therefore beat and laid about,  
 To find a cranny to creep out.  
 But she, who saw in what a taking  
 The Knight was by his furious quaking,  
 1075 Undaunted cry'd, Courage, Sir Knight,  
 Know, I'm resolv'd to break no rite  
 Of hospitality t' a stranger,  
 But, to secure you out of danger,  
 Will here myself stand sentinel,  
 1080 To guard this pass, 'gainst Sidrophel.

v. 1076, 1077. *Know, I'm resolv'd to break no rite—Of hospitality* ———] See the great regard some of the ancients paid to the laws of hospitality, Diodori Siculi Bibliothec. lib. xii. p. 293. Vide etiam Gul. Stuckii Antiqu. Convivial. lib. i. cap. xxvii. p. 81 ad 96, edit. Tiguri 1582; Lewis's History of the Parthian Empire, p. 203, 204, 230. Peter the Great, late Czar of Muscovy, behaved gallantly in this respect. He being desired by the Turks, in order to a peace, to deliver up Prince Cantemir, who was then under his protection, his answer was, "That he would resign all the country as far as Curka to the Turk, since there was  
 hopes



Women, you know, do seldom fail  
To make the stoutest men turn tail;  
And bravely scorn to turn their backs  
Upon the desp'ratest attacks.

1085 At this the Knight grew resolute

As Ironside, or Hardiknute;

His fortitude began to rally,

And out he cry'd aloud to fally.

But she besought him to convey

1090 His courage rather out o' th' way,

And lodge in ambush on the floor,

Or fortify'd behind a door;

That, if the enemy should enter,

He might relieve her in the adventure.

1095 Meanwhile they knock'd against the door

As fierce as at the gate before;

Which made the renegado Knight

Relapse again t' his former fright.

He thought it desperate to stay

1100 Till th' enemy had forc'd his way,

But rather post himself, to serve

The Lady, for a fresh reserve.

hopes of recovering it again, but would by no means violate his faith to a prince, who had abandoned his principality for his sake; because it was impossible to repair honour once forfeited." See Prince Cantemir's *Growth of the Othman Empire*, p. 455.

v. 1086. *As Ironside, or Hardiknute, &c.*] \* Two famous and valiant princes of this country, the one a Saxon, the other a Dane.

- His duty was not to dispute,  
 But what sh' had order'd execute:  
 1105 Which he resolv'd in haste t' obey,  
 And therefore stoutly march'd away;  
 And all h' encounter'd fell upon,  
 Though in the dark, and all alone:  
 Till fear, that braver feats performs,  
 1110 Than ever courage dar'd in arms,  
 Had drawn him up before a pass,  
 To stand upon his guard, and face.  
 This he courageously invaded,  
 And, having enter'd, barricado'd;  
 1115 Enscenc'd himself as formidable  
 As could be underneath a table;  
 Where he lay down in ambush close,  
 T' expect th' arrival of his foes.  
 Few minutes he had lain perdue,  
 1120 To guard his desp'rate avenue,  
 Before he heard a dreadful shout,  
 As loud as putting to the rout;  
 With which impatiently alarm'd,

v. 1131. *But those that trade in geomancy, &c.*] *Geomantia*, fore-cery by circles and pricks in the earth. (Mr. S. W.). Vide Wieri de Præstigi. Dæmon. lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 206; Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandulæ Op. tom. ii. passim; Tract of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, of Geomancy.

v. 1132, 1133. *Affirm to be the strength of fancy,—In which the Lapland Magi deal.*] \* *The Lapland Magi*. The Laplanders are an idolatrous people, far north; and it is very credibly reported by authors, and persons that have travelled in their country, that they do perform things incredible by what is vulgarly called magic. Scheffer observes of them (*History of Lapland*, 8vo, 1704, p. 143,

- He fancy'd th' enemy had storm'd ;  
 1125 And, after ent'ring, Sidrophel  
 Was fall'n upon the guards pell-mell.  
 He therefore sent out all his senses,  
 To bring him in intelligences ;  
 Which vulgars, out of ignorance,  
 1130 Mistake, for falling in a trance ;  
 But those that trade in geomancy,  
 Affirm to be the strength of fancy,  
 In which the Lapland Magi deal,  
 And things incredible reveal.  
 1135 Mean while the foe beat up his quarters,  
 And storm'd the outworks of his fortrefs:  
 And as another of the same  
 Degree and party, in arms and fame,  
 That in the same cause had engag'd,  
 1140 And war with equal conduct wag'd,  
 By vent'ring only but to thrust  
 His head a span beyond his post,  
 B' a Gen'ral of the Cavaliers  
 Was dragg'd thro' a window by th' ears ;

p. 143, &c.) that they often fall into trances, in which they continue for some time, and then pretend to foretel things very surprising.

v. 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144. *And as another of the same—Degree and party, in arms and fame,—That in the same cause had engag'd,—And war with equal conduct wag'd,—By vent'ring only but to thrust—His head a span beyond his post,—B' a General of the Cavaliers,—Was dragg'd thro' a window by the ears.* This was Sir Erasmus P. of P——n Castle in Pembrokehire, who was so served by Colonel Egerton. Mr. Walter Moyle alludes to it in his works, published by himself 1695, and reprinted 1727.





Beardi del.

Ridley sculp



There's no way to reduce him thence,  
 1155 But twinging him by the ears or nose,  
 Or laying on of heavy blows;  
 And if that will not do the deed,  
 To burning with hot irons proceed.  
 No sooner was he come t' himself,  
 1160 But on his neck a sturdy elf  
 Clapp'd, in a trice, his cloven hoof,  
 And thus attack'd him with reproof:

v. 1147, 1148. *Soon as they had him at their mercy,—They put him to the cudgel fiercely.*] In Mr Butler's poem called *Dunstable Downs, or the Enchanted Cave (Remains)*, there is as humorous and drolling a scene of the Knight, in one of his unfortunate exploits, as this we are now entering upon.—But, alas! the poor Squire is also involved in that; and they are both severely handled and frightened, and the Squire opens and fully discovers the iniquitous actions and proceedings of the Knight in these and all his other adventures. One of which, as we learn from the said poem, was his procuring or pretending to have a grant from the then usurping powers to inclose Dunstable Downs (where the neighbourhood had a right of commoning), on pretence the same had been given to superstitious uses. The whole poem is worthy of perusal, and gives us a near insight into our Hero's character and principles. (Mr. B.) See the usage of Don Quixote and Donna Rodriguez in the dark by the Dutchess and some of her women (*Don Quixote*, vol. iv. chap. xlviii. p. 487, and chap. i. p. 490); and the examination of Justice Allgripe, by Lurcher and his companions personating furies, *Night Walker*, act iv.

v. 1153. *For when a man is past his sense.*] See note upon Part I. Canto ii. v. 974.

v. 1158. *To burning with, &c.*] \* An allusion to cauterizing in apoplexies, &c.

v. 1160, 1161. *But on his neck a sturdy elf—Clapp'd, in a trice, his cloven hoof.*]

“ The beast at one end branded, you may trace  
 The devil's footsteps in his cloven face.”

Cleveland's Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyter, p. 40.

- Mortal, thou art betray'd to us  
 B' our friend, thy evil genius,  
 1165 Who for thy horrid perjuries,  
 Thy breach of faith, and turning lies,  
 The brethren's privilege (against  
 The wicked) on themselves, the saints,  
 Has here thy wretched carcase sent,  
 1170 For just revenge and punishment;  
 Which thou hast now no way to lessen,  
 But by an open free confession;  
 For, if we catch thee failing once,  
 'Twill fall the heavier on thy bones.  
 1175 What made thee venture to betray,  
 And filch the Lady's heart away?  
 To spirit her to matrimony?—— [ney.  
 That which contracts all matches, mo-  
 It was the enchantment of her riches,  
 1180 That made m' apply t' your croney witches;

*Nurse*, in the *Night Walker*, or *Little Thief*, act ii. thus expresses herself:

“ Mercy upon me!

The ghost of one of his guards sure; 'tis the devil by his claws,  
 he smells of brimstone, sure he farts fire; what an earthquake I  
 have in me!

Out with thy prayer-book, nurse——

Let us call the butler up, for he speaks Latin; and that will  
 daunt the devil: I am blasted, my belly is grown to nothing.”—

“ A conceit there is (says Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors*,  
 book v. chap. 21), that the devil commonly appeareth with a clo-  
 ven hoof; wherein, although it seem excessively ridiculous, there  
 may be somewhat of truth, and the ground thereof at first might  
 be his frequent appearing in the shape of a goat, which answers  
 the description.” “ Saving the reputation of St. Hierome and Dr.  
 Browne (says Mr. Webster, *Displaying of supposed Witchcraft*,  
 chap. xv. p. 283), it is but a supposition unproved, that ever the  
 devil appeared in the shape of a goat: The rise of the opinion  
 was

That in return would pay th' expence  
 The wear and tear of conscience,  
 Which I could have patch'd up, and turn'd,  
 For th' hundredth part of what I earn'd.

1185 Didst thou not love her then? Speak true.  
 No more (quoth he) than I love you.

How would'st th' have us'd her and her  
 First turn'd her up to alimony, [money?  
 And laid her dow'ry out in law,

1190 To null her jointure with a flaw,  
 Which I beforehand had agreed  
 T' have put, on purpose, in the deed;  
 And bar her widow's making over  
 T' a friend in trust, or private lover.

1195 What made thee pick and chuse her out  
 T' employ their forceries about? [those  
 That which makes gamesters play with  
 Who have least wit, and most to lose.

was only because the devil was worshipped in an idol made in the shape of a goat."

v. 1188 *First turn'd her up to alimony.*] Alimony is that allowance which may be sued for by a married woman upon any occasional separation from her husband, when she is not charged with adultery or elopement (Jacob's Law Dictionary; Bailey's Dictionary). Hudibras's usage of his mistress, in this case, would not have been quite so bad as Stakeley's usage of his wife, who being reprimanded by Queen Elizabeth for using her ill, he told her Majesty, "That he had already turned her into her petticoat, and if any man could make more of her, they might take her for him," (Earl of Stafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 380); and not worse than the Christian liberty of the saints of those times, mentioned by Sir John Birkenhead (Paul's Church-yard, cent. i. class iii. No. 50), "of shifting their wives, and, if not for their turn, of turning them off, and taking new ones."

But didst thou scourge thy vessel thus,  
1200 As thou hast damn'd thyself to us?

I see you take for an ass:

'Tis true, I thought the trick would pass  
Upon a woman well enough,  
As 't has been often found by proof;  
1205 Whose humours are not to be won  
But when they are impos'd upon.  
For love approves of all they do  
That stand for candidates and woo.

Why didst thou forge those shameful lies,  
1210 Of bears and witches in disguise?

That is no more than authors give  
The rabble credit to believe:  
A trick of following their leaders,  
To entertain their gentle readers.

1215 And we have now no other way  
Of passing all we do or say;  
Which, when 'tis natural and true,  
Will be believ'd b' a very few,  
Beside the danger of offence,

1220 The fatal enemy of sense.

Why didst thou chuse that cursed sin,  
Hypocrisy, to set up in?

Because it is the thriving'ft calling,  
The only faints-bell that rings all in:  
1225 In which all churches are concern'd,  
And is the easiest to be learn'd:

For



For no degrees, unless th' employ't,  
Can ever gain much, or enjoy't.

A gift that is not only able

1230 To domineer among the rabble,  
But by the laws empower'd to root,  
And awe the greatest that stand out:  
Which few hold forth against, for fear  
Their hands should slip, and come too near;

1235 For no sin else among the saints  
Is taught so tenderly against.

What made thee break thy plighted vows?

That which makes others break a house,  
And hang, and scorn ye all, before

1240 Endure the plague of being poor.

Quoth he, I see you have more tricks  
Than all your doating politics,  
That are grown old, and out of fashion,  
Compar'd with your new reformation:

1245 That we must come to school to you,  
To learn your more refin'd and new.

Quoth he, If you will give me leave  
To tell you what I now perceive,  
You'll find yourself an errant chouse

1250 If y' were but at a meeting-house.

'Tis true, quoth he, we ne'er comethere,  
Because w' have let 'em out by th' year.

Truly, quoth he, you can't imagine  
What wondrous things they will engage in;

1255 That as your fellow-fiends in hell  
 Were angels all before they fell;  
 So are you like to be again,  
 Compar'd with th' angels of us men.

Quoth he, I am resolv'd to be

1260 Thy scholar in this mystery;  
 And therefore first desire to know  
 Some principles on which you go.

What makes a knave a child of God,  
 And one of us?—A livelihood.

1265 What renders beating out of brains,  
 And murder, godlinefs?—Great gains.

What's tender conscience?—'Tis a botch  
 That will not bear the gentlest touch;  
 But, breaking out, dispatches more

1270 Than th' epidemical'st plague-fore.

What makes y' inroach upon our trade,

v. 1263. *What makes a knave a child of God*] This is a ridicule on the numerous pamphlets published in those times under the name and form of catechisms. Cheynel's Profane Catechism, Heylin's Rebel's Catechism, Watfon's Cavalier's Catechism, Rami's Soldier's Catechism, Parker's Political Catechism, &c. (Mr. W.)

v. 1269, 1270. *But breaking out dispatches more—Than th' epidemical'st plague-fore.*] Alluding either to the terrible plague in the reign of King Charles I. (see Lilly's Life), or that in 1665, in which there died in London 68,586. See Dr. Calamy's Continuation, &c. p. 33; Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 345.

v. 1273. *What's orthodox and true believing?*] See this explained, Sir R. L'Estrange's Reflection on the Fable of the Hermit and Soldier, part i. fab. 38; Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 325, note, *ibid.* p. 348.

v. 1287, 1288. *And what would serve, if those were gone,—To make*

And damn all others?—To be paid.

What's orthodox and true believing  
Against a conscience?—A good living.

1275 What makes rebelling against kings  
A good old cause?—Administrings.

What makes all doctrine plain and clear?  
About two hundred pounds a year.

And that which was prov'd true before,  
1280 Prove false again?—Two hundred more.

What makes the breaking of all oaths  
A holy duty?—Food and clothes.

What laws and freedom, persecution?  
B'ing out of power, and contribution.

1285 What makes a church a den of thieves?  
A dean and chapter, and white sleeves.

And what would serve, if those were gone,  
To make it orthodox?—Our own.

*make it orthodox? —Our own.]* To prove by what arts and shifts this was done, give me leave to quote part of a smart satire, printed 1659, entitled, *Peter's Pattern, or the Perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, as delivered at the funeral oration of Mr. Hugh Peters (though then living). "The gifts of ignorance, lying, impudence, informing, cozening, and hypocrisy, belong to such as seek preferment, whether civil or military; but all of them are required to make up a minister of the word (in those times). First, that a preaching professor may make use of his time, it is required that he be stored with impudence. The uses of it are two: first, to encourage you to the most desperate enterprizes; and, secondly, to make you scorn the reproaches of those who reprove ye. As for example, my beloved, if you see one of your enemies seated in a warm living, and that your hearts pant and thirst after the same, you ought then to put on your night-cap of devotion, and your garment of hypocrisy, and go to your superiors, and say, Yonder is a man, who is not of the congregation

- What makes morality a crime,  
 1290 The most notorious of the time:  
 Morality, which both the saints  
 And wicked too cry out against?  
 'Cause grace and virtue are within  
 Prohibited degrees of kin:  
 1295 And therefore no true faint allows  
 They shall be suffer'd to espouse:  
 For saints can need no conscience,  
 That with morality dispense;  
 As virtue's impious, when 'tis rooted,  
 1300 In nature only, and not imputed:  
 But why the wicked should do so,  
 We neither know, nor care to do.

of professors, who is planted in a rich living, he is a scandalous and disaffected person, and I am more worthy than he, pray put me into his place. If men therefore rebuke you, and call you ac-cuser, and devil, then ought you to make use of your gift of im-pudence, and laugh at them all. Thus did holy Nye throw out unrighteous Juxon, out of his parsonage of Fulham: thus did our brother Marshall become possessed of his fat living in the land of Essex: this emboldened our departed brother to hold forth in the pulpit of Whitehall, where so many learned (as the Heathens call them) had been before him. What cared they for the reproaches of men? for their hearts were feared with the hot iron of impu-dence, finding themselves at ease, and filled with joy." Phoenix Britannicus, p. 257. (Mr. B)

v. 1301, 1302. *But why the wicked should do so,—We neither know, nor care to do.*] A fine wipe upon the immorality of the Cavaliers. (Mr. W.) And I beg leave to add, that as fine a wipe was given by a Cavalier upon the Round-heads to one of General Fairfax's officers, who was vaunting of the sanctity of their army, and the negligence of the Cavaliers. "Faith (says he), you say true; for in our army we have the sins of men (drinking and wenching); but, in yours, you have those of devils, spiritual pride and rebellion." (Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 253.) And  
 it



What's liberty of conscience,  
I' th' natural and genuine sense?

1305 'Tis to restore, with more security,  
Rebellion to its ancient purity;  
And Christian liberty reduce  
To th' elder practice of the Jews.  
For a large conscience is all one,

1310 And signifies the same with none.

It is enough (quoth he) for once,  
And has repriev'd thy forfeit bones:  
Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,  
(Though he gave name to our Old Nick)

1315 But was below the least of these,  
That pass i' th' world for holiness.

it is observed by Mr. Cowley, in his preface to *The Cutter of Coleman-street*, "That the vices and extravagances imputed vulgarly to the Cavaliers were really committed by aliens, who only usurped that name, and endeavoured to cover the report of their indigency, and infamy of their actions, with so honourable a title."

v. 1307, 1308. *And Christian liberty reduce—To th' elder practice of the Jews.*] Alluding to the frequent rebellions of the ancient Jews against the Lord and his vicegerents: whereas the modern ones are quiet under all governments; which practice they found upon the prophet Jeremiah's exhortation to the captives of Babylon (chap. xxix).

v. 1309, 1310. *For a large conscience is all one,—And signifies the same with none.*] It is reported of Judge Jefferies, that taking a dislike to an evidence who had a long beard, he told him, "That, if his conscience was as large as his beard, he had a swinging one." To which the countryman replied, "My Lord, if you measure consciences by beards, you have none at all."

v. 1313, 1314. *Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,—Though he gave name to our Old Nick.*] Mr. Warburton is of opinion, that this is a blunder of the editors, to suppose the devil was called Old Nick, from Nick Machiavel the Florentine (but it was certainly

This said, the furies and the light  
 In th' instant vanish'd out of sight;  
 And left him in the dark alone,  
 1320 With stinks of brimstone and his own.  
 The queen of night, whose large command  
 Rules all the sea, and half the land,  
 And over moist and crazy brains,  
 In high spring-tide, at midnight reigns,  
 1325 Was now declining to the west,  
 To go to bed, and take her rest:

tainly the mistake of the author, who continued it in every edition during his life), who lived in the sixteenth century; whereas they could not but know, that our English writers, before Machiavel's time, used the word Old Nick very commonly to signify the devil; that it came from our Saxon ancestors, who called him Old Nicka (the Goths, I will add, called the devil Nidhog, and the Danes the god of the sea Nocca, and some Nicken, Sheringham de Gentis Anglorum Origine, cap. xiv. p. 324, 331); and thinks that

He gave aim to our Old Nick,  
 which has a great deal of humour and satire in it, as supposing Machiavel to be so consummate a politician as to read lectures to the devil himself, would be an emendation.

Another poet of those times expresses himself in the following manner:

" In this prodigal trick,  
 They have outdone Old Nick;  
 For what he did, he did show;  
 Their title is the same,  
 And so is their aim,  
 For aught any man doth know."

A City Ballad, Collection of old Songs, vol. ii. No. 18, ft. 29.

It is observed (in a tract, entitled, A Letter sent to London, from a Spy at Oxford. to Mr. Pym, &c. 1643, p. 4), "That they have overmatched old Nicholas Machiavel the Florentine; the renowned Guido will be forgot: for their over reaching stratagemical state-brain will be matter enough to prove them dull-pated shallow-brained coxcombs; their fame and name shall bury their glory in oblivion. For all the world knows, that all the devils in hell could never have brought so much mischief upon this kingdom, unless they had helped them, and been the in-  
 ventors

- When Hudibras, whose stubborn blows,  
 Deny'd his bones that soft repose,  
 Lay still expecting worse and more,  
 1330 Stretch'd out at length upon the floor:  
 And though he shut his eyes as fast,  
 As if h' had been to sleep his last,  
 Saw all the shapes that fear or wizards  
 Do make the devil wear for vizards,  
 1335 And pricking up his ears to hark  
 If he could hear too in the dark,

ventors of it." Sancho Pancha pays such a compliment to his master Don Quixote (book iii. chap. xxviii. p. 280), "that Old Nick, or the devil, could not over-reach him."

v. 1320. *With flinks of brimstone, &c.*] R. Ga. writeth, in his pamphlet, entitled, *The execution of the Windsor Witches*, "That he came to the God-speed, and with his sword and buckler killed the devil, or at least wounded him so fore, that he made him flink of brimstone." Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book ii. chap. iii.

v. 1321, 1322. *The queen of night, whose large command—Rules all the sea, and half the land.*] \* The moon influences the tides, and predominates over all humid bodies; and persons disordered in mind are called lunatics. This is the generally received opinion. See Dr. Harris's *Astronomical Dialogues*, 2d edit. p. 105. Dr. James Young, *Sidrophel Vapulans*, from p. 46 to p. 50 inclusive, endeavours to disprove it. Le Blanc observes, (*Travels*, part i. chap. xv. p. 47), "That at Cambaye town, it is to be noted, that the tides are weakest at full moon; which is wonderful and contrary to ours, and the reason not yet found out by any naturalist. The same in Pegu." See an account of the irregular ebbing and flowing of the sea at Tonqueen, 1678, by Mr. Edmund Halley. *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xiv. No. 162, p. 677, &c.

v. 1325, 1326. *Was now declining to the west,—To go to bed, and take her rest.*] Our poet stands alone in this description of the morning's approach: none that I know of besides himself has painted it by the moon's declension. He scorned to follow the old beaten custom of describing it by the sun's rising, which he

Was first invaded with a groan,  
 And after, in a feeble tone,  
 These trembling words, Unhappy wretch,  
 1340 What hast thou gotten by this fetch;  
 Or all thy tricks, in this new trade,  
 Thy holy brotherhood o' th' blade?  
 By fauntring still on some adventure,  
 And growing to thy horse a Centaur;  
 1345 To stuff thy skin with swelling knobs  
 Of cruel and hard-wooded drubs?  
 For still th' hast had the worst on't yet,  
 As well in conquest as defeat.  
 Night is the sabbath of mankind,  
 1350 To rest the body and the mind:  
 Which now thou art deny'd to keep,  
 And cure thy labour'd corps with sleep.  
 The Knight who heard the words explain'd,  
 As meant to him, this reprimand,

had done once before, Part II. Canto ii. v. 29. But he here finds out a new way, and altogether just. (Mr. B.)

v. 1337, 1338, 1339. *Was first invaded with a groan,—And after, in a feeble tone,—These trembling words, &c.*] This was the Squire, who, upon the Knight's visit, was conveyed out of sight by the Widow, v. 157. He had been in ambush, and within hearing, during the late correction of his master. No doubt his examination, confession, and punishment, had afforded the Squire abundance of diversion; and no sooner had the furies left the distressed Knight, but he takes him to task, rallies him, and makes him amply discover the secret principles of his sect. All this the Squire accomplishes, by artfully counterfeiting a ghost, and telling the terrified Knight of all his late actions and designs. This gave credit to the imposture, and made it pass. See Canto iii. v. 149, &c. (Mr. B.)

v. 1342. ——— *holy brotherhood.*] In allusion to a society in Spain so called. (Mr. W). La Santa Hermandad, somewhat like  
like



- 1355 Because the character did hit,  
 Point-blank upon his case so fit;  
 Believ'd it was some drolling sprite  
 That staid upon the guard that night,  
 And one of those h' had seen and felt,  
 1360 The drubs he had so freely dealt.  
 When, after a short pause and groan,  
 The doleful spirit thus went on:  
 This 'tis t' engage with dogs and bears,  
 Pell-mell together by the ears,  
 1365 And, after painful bangs and knocks,  
 To lie in limbo in the stocks;  
 And from the pinnacle of glory  
 Fall headlong into purgatory.  
 (Thought he, this devil's full of malice,  
 1370 That on my late disasters rallies)  
 Condemn'd to whipping, but declin'd it,  
 By being mere heroic-minded;

like our constables. See Don Quixote, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 84, vol. ii. part i. book iv. chap. xviii. p. 226, 227, &c. chap. xix. p. 232, &c.; Gayton's Notes upon Don Quixote, book ii. chap. ii. p. 38. book iii. chap. viii. p. 128

v. 1344. *And growing to thy horse a Centaur.*] \* The Centaurs were a people of Thessaly, and supposed to be the first managers of horses, and the neighbouring inhabitants, never having seen any such thing before, fabulously reported them monsters, half men, and half horses. See an account of the original of Centaurs, Diodori Siculi Rer. Antiquar. lib. v. cap. viii. p. 115; De Lapathis et Centauris, Thesaur. Critic. Hieronymi Magii, cap. xx; Gruteri Fax. Art. tom. ii. p. 1304, &c.; Spanish Mandeville, 1st disc. fol. 27; Notes on Creech's Lucretius, vol. ii. p. 539. The Spaniards were taken for such, upon Cortez's conquest of the Mexicans, who had never before seen an horse; and took the horses with their riders to be fierce monsters, half men, and half beasts. De Soli's History of the Conquest of Mexico, by T. Townshend, Esq. 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 107.

- And at a riding handled worfe,  
 With treats more slovenly and coarfe ;  
 1375 Engag'd with fiends in stubborn wars,  
 And hot disputes with conjurers;  
 And, when th' hadst bravely won the day,  
 Wast fain to steal thyself away.  
 (I see, thought he, this shameless elf  
 1380 Would fain steal me too from myself,  
 That impudently dares to own  
 What I have suffer'd for and done)  
 And now, but vent'ring to betray,  
 Hast met with vengeance the same way.  
 1385 Thought he, How does the devil know  
 What 'twas that I design'd to do?  
 His office of intelligence,  
 His oracles, are ceas'd long since ;

v. 1379, 1380. *I see, thought he, this shameless elf—Would fain steal me too from myself.*] Alluding probably to those lines in Horace, Carm. lib. iv. ode xiii. 18, 19, 20. ad Lycen Vetulum.

“ ————— Quid habes illius, illius,

Quæ spirabat amores,

Quæ me furpuerat mihi?”

Ben Jonson (*Tale of a Tub*, act iii. sc. v.) makes Bull Puppy express himself in the same manner: “A lady, &c. have plotted in the King’s highway to steal me from myself.”

v. 1388. *His oracles, are ceas’d long since.*] The devil’s oracles ceased at the coming of our Saviour. “Manfit tamen ejusmodi vatum præcipua auctoritas et observatio, usque ad Christum æterni Dei filium, quo nato—cessarunt passim in orbe terrarum oracula: et quæcunque impiarum divinationum genera.” Testibus Athanasio, Justino, Eusebio, Lactantio, Plutarcho, Plinio, conticueruntque dæmones, et tanquam Ranae Seriphiae obmutuerunt. Wier de Præstigiis Dæmonum, lib. i. cap. viii; Scot’s *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book viii. chap. iii. p. 160, &c; Dr. Howel’s *Institution of General History*, &c. vol. i. book iv. chap. ii. p. 843; Sir Thomas Browne’s *Vulgar Errors*, book ii. chap. xii.

v. 1395.

And he knows nothing of the faints,

1390 But what some treacherous spy acquaints.

This is some pettifogging fiend,

Some under door-keeper's friend's friend,

That undertakes to understand,

And juggles at the second hand :

1395 And now would pass for spirit Po,

And all mens dark concerns foreknow.

I think I need not fear him for't ;

These rallying devils do no hurt.

With that he rous'd his drooping heart,

1400 And hastily cry'd out, What art ?

A wretch (quoth he) whom want of grace

Has brought to this unhappy place.

I do believe thee, quoth the Knight :

Thus far I'm sure th' art in the right ;

v. 1395. *And now would pass for spirit Po.*] Tom Po, an expression commonly used for an apparition: and it was usual to say, to one that seemed fearful of going into another room, in the dark, you are afraid you shall meet Tom Po. (Dr. B.) The rise of this might be from the Nayros, or soldiers of Malabar in the Indies, of whom Linschoten (Voyages into the East and West Indies, chap. xlii. p. 78) gives the following account: "As these Nayros go in the street, they used to cry Po, Po, which is to say, take heed, look to yourselves, or I come, stand out of the way: For that the other sort of people called Polyas, that are no Nayros, may not once touch or trouble one of them: and therefore they always cry, because they should make them room, and know that they come; for, if any of the Polyas should chance to touch their bodies, he may freely thrust him through, and no man ask him why he did it."

v. 1398. *These rallying devils do no hurt.*] I have heard of a gentleman's servant, in other respects very stout and courageous, who was so fully possessed with the vulgar notion of spirits and hobgoblins, that he was almost afraid to lie alone. A fellow-servant, in order to scare him, got under the bed one night,  
and

1405 And know what 'tis that troubles thee,  
 Better than thou hast guess'd of me.  
 Thou art some poultry black-guard sprite,  
 Condemn'd to drudg'ry in the night;  
 Thou hast no work to do in th' house,  
 1410 Nor halfpenny to drop in shoes;  
 Without the raising of which fum,  
 You dare not be so troublesome;  
 To pinch the flatterns black and blue,  
 For leaving you their work to do.

and when he was almost asleep, raised up the bed with his back, which put the poor man into a terrible panic: but the other, by overacting his part, and overstraining himself, chanced to break wind backwards; upon which he immediately suspecting who it was, cried out, Nay, if thou art a f—t—ng devil, have at thee, I am not afraid of thee; and jumped out of bed, pulled the other from under it by the ears, and beat him heartily.

v. 1413. *To pinch the flatterns black and blue.*]

“ When house or hearth doth fluttish lie,  
 I pinch the maids both black and blue,  
 And from the bed the bed-cloaths I  
 Pull off, and lay them nak'd to view.”

Old Ballad of Robin Goodfellow; Mr. Peck's New Memoirs of Milton, § vii. p. 25.

“ She bid him then go to those caves,  
 Where conjurors keep fairy slaves,  
 Such sort of creatures as will baste ye  
 A kitchen wench, for being nasty:  
 But if she neatly scour her pewter,  
 Give her the money that is due t' her.”

Orpheus and Eurydice by Dr. King; Miscellanies, p. 379. See Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, vol. i. p. 301, 302; Sheringham de Gentis Angl. Origine, cap. xiv. p. 320; Archdeacon Parnel's Fairy Tale; Poems, 1737, p. 38; The Fairies; Miscellaneous Poems, published by Mr. D. Lewis, 1726, p. 172.

v. 1415. *This is your business, good Pug Robin.*]

“ From hag-bred Merlin's time have I  
 Thus nightly revell'd to and fro;

And.



1415 This is your bufinefs, good Pug Robin,  
 And your diverfion, dull dry bobbing ;  
 T' entice fanatics in the dirt,  
 And wafh 'em clean in ditches for't.  
 Of which conceit you are fo proud,  
 1420 At ev'ry jeft you laugh aloud,  
 As now you would have done by me,  
 But that I barr'd your railleury.

Sir (quoth the voice), Y'are no fuch Sophi  
 As you would have the world judge of ye,

And, for my pranks men call me by  
 The name of Robin Goodfellow."

See Old Ballad of Robin Goodfellow ; Mr. Peck's New Memoirs of Milton, p. 26 ; Bibliotheca Pepysian. ; Old Ballads, vol. i. No. 80. See Tale of Robin Goodfellow ; Warner's Albion's England, book xiv. chap. xci. p. 367 ; Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels, book ix. p. 574. See Puck, or Robin Goodfellow, Shakefpeare's Midfummer Night's Dream, act ii. vol. i. p. 90, 91 ; Anatomy of Melancholy, by Democritus junior, p. 47 ; Spanifh Mandeville, fol. 78 ; Preface to Dr. Dee's Book of Spirits, fig. F. See Abftract of Scot's Hiftory of Witchcraft ; Britifh Librarian, No. 4, for April 1737, p. 218, 227, concerning Robin Goodfellow, a lufty cozening friar.

v. 1423. *Y'are no fuch Sophi.*] Alluding to the title commonly given to the Kings of Perfia. Prince Cantemir obferves (Hiftory of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire, p. 134), " That Ithmael Shah, contemporary with Bajazet, was founder of the prefent royal family of Perfia ; from him who had the name of Sophi, or wife, they have retained the name of the Great Sophi to this day." Vide Aul. Turcic. par. i. a Nic. Honger. Koningthoff. Francofurt. p. 119 ; Purchafe's Pilgrims, vol. v. p. 381.

Sir John Chardin, who lived fome time in Perfia, in his account of the coronation of Solyman III. King of Perfia, annexed to his Travels into Perfia, p. 48, folio, 1685, explaining the word *fafie*, fays, " It will be more to the purpofe to obferve the miftakes of our writers upon the word *fafie* : For they would have all the Kings of Perfia to be called Sophies. I cannot but laugh, fays he, when I find in their writings the Grand Sophy, the

- 1425 If you design to weigh our talents,  
 I' th' standard of your own false balance,  
 Or think it possible to know  
 Us ghosts, as well as we do you :  
 We who have been the everlasting  
 1430 Companions of your drubs and basting,  
 And never left you in contest,  
 With male or female, man or beast,  
 But prov'd as true t' ye, and entire,  
 In all adventures, as your Squire.
- 1435 Quoth he, That may be said as true  
 By th' idlest pug of all your crew :  
 For none could have betray'd us worse  
 Than those allies of ours and yours.  
 But I have sent him for a token  
 1440 To your low-country Hogen-mogen,  
 To whose infernal shores I hope  
 He'll swing, like skippers in a rope.

Sophy of Persia, and the Sovereign Sophy; for the Kings of Persia are neither called Sophies in general, nor in particular: Could the Kings of Persia read our European characters, and should see, in the letters that are written to them from some parts of Europe, the title which is given them of Sophy, questionless they would spit upon them, and take it as an affront."

v. 1442. *He'll swing, like skippers in a rope.*] A master of a ship is called a skipper in Holland.

v. 1448. *By holding up your cloven parus.*] The manner of taking the covenant was by lifting up their hands to heaven, for the maintenance and observation of the ends and principles expressed in it. See History of Independency, printed in 1648, p. 128. The Independents were at length for setting aside the covenant, though some of them, jointly with the Presbyterians, had been concerned in making it, and had actually taken it, as this Independent

- And if y' have been more juſt to me  
 (As I am apt to think) than he,  
 1445 I am afraid it is as true,  
 What th' ill affected ſay of you,  
 Y' have 'ſpous'd the covenant and cauſe,  
 By holding up your cloven paws.  
 Sir, quoth the voice, 'Tis true, I grant,  
 1450 We made and took the covenant:  
 But that no more concerns the cauſe,  
 Than other perj'ries do the laws,  
 Which when they're prov'd in open court,  
 Wear wooden peccadillo's for't.  
 1455 And that's the reaſon cov'nanters  
 Hold up their hands, like rogues at bars.  
 I ſee, quoth Hudibras, from whence  
 Theſe ſcandals of the ſaints commence,  
 That are but natural effects  
 1460 Of Satan's malice, and his ſects,

pendent gholt acknowledges, which is the reaſon why our Preſbyterian Knight urges the obligation of it to him; for this was their practice. See the hiſtory above quoted, which will give the reader a full light into this whole dialogue. (Mr. B.)

v. 1450. *We made and took the covenant.*] The author of Mercurius Publicus tells us of a wizard (ſee No. 20, p. 319, 320), who, upon his examination at Edinburgh, confeſſed, that the devil had bound him to renounce his Creed, and his Chriſtendom (Chriſtianity), but gave him leave to keep his covenant. Mr. Butler here gives the reaſon of it, that the devil had a principal hand in the making of it: and in Canto ii. 1255, 1256, are the following lines:

Until th' had prov'd the devil author  
 O' th' covenant, and cauſe his daughter.

See Canto ii. 1245, 1246.

v. 1454. *Wear wooden peccadillos for't*] \* Peccadillos were ſtiff pieces that went about the neck, and round about the ſhoulders,

Those spider faints, that hang by threads  
Spun out o' th' entrails of their heads.

Sir, quoth the voice, That may as true  
And properly be said of you ;

1465 Whose talents may compare with either,  
Or both the other put together.

For all the Independents do  
Is only what you forc'd 'em to.

You, who are not content alone

1470 With tricks to put the devil down,  
But must have armies rais'd to back  
The gospel work you undertake ;  
As if artillery, and edge-tools,  
Were th' only engines to save souls.

1475 While he, poor devil, has no pow'r  
By force to run down and devour ;  
Has ne'er a classis, cannot sentence  
To stools, or poundage of repentance ;  
Is ty'd up only to design,

to pin the band, wore by persons nice in dressing ; but his wooden one is a pillory.

v. 1477, 1478. ——— *Cannot sentence—To stools or poundage of repentance.*] *i. e.* doing penance, in the Scotch way, upon the stool of repentance, or commuting the penance for a sum of money. The Scots (see Articles of War for the Expedition, Edinburgh, 1644, Publ. Libr. Cambridge, xix. 9, 3. art. iii.) ordain, “ That common and ordinary swearing, open profaning of the Lord's day, wronging of his minister, and other acts of that kind, shall not only be punished with loss of pay and imprisonment, but the transgressors shall make their public repentance in the middle of the congregation.”

The author of a tract, entitled, *A Long-winded Lay Lecture*, 1647, p. 8 ; Royal Library, Cambridge, banters the Scottish penances in the following lines :

“ Brethren,



- 1480 T' entice, and tempt, and undermine :  
 In which you all his arts out-do,  
 And prove yourselves his betters too.  
 Hence 'tis possessions do less evil  
 Than mere temptations of the devil,  
 1485 Which all the horrid'st actions done  
 Are charg'd in courts of law upon ;  
 Because, unless they help the elf,  
 He can do little of himself :  
 And therefore where he's best possess'd,  
 1490 Acts most against his interest ;  
 Surprises none but those wh' have priests  
 To turn him out, and exorcists,  
 Supply'd with spiritual provision,  
 And magazines of ammunition :  
 1495 With crosses, relics, crucifixes,  
 Beads, pictures, rosaries, and pixes :  
 The tools of working out salvation  
 By mere mechanic operation,

“ Brethren, forgive me, now I do confess,  
 Yet to confession I'll not play the fool,  
 To bring mine arse upon the Scottish stool.  
 No, I'll not subject be to such an order,  
 Which will ere long invade our English border.  
 Then they that will be slav'd after the sentence,  
 Must sit upon the stool of their repentance ;  
 But no such Scottish Presbyterian trick  
 Shall make my freedom heart with sorrow sick.  
 Let those that have a mind, the most commend on't,  
 On that and all the rest I'm independent.”

v. 1483. *Hence 'tis possessions, &c.*] \* Criminals, in their indictments, are charged with not having the fear of God before their eyes, but being led by the instigation of the devil.

v. 1492. ——— *And exorcists.*] Exorcists made an order of  
 P 3 the

- With holy water, like a fluice,  
 1500 To overflow all avenues.  
 But those wh' are utterly unarm'd,  
 T' oppose his entrance if he storm'd,  
 He never offers to surprize,  
 Although his falsest enemies;  
 1505 But is content to be their drudge,  
 And on their errands glad to trudge:  
 For where are all your forfeitures  
 Entrusted in safe hands, but ours?  
 Who are but jailors of the holes  
 1510 And dungeons where you clap up souls:  
 Like under keepers, turn the keys,

the clergy in the third century, Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book iii. chap. iv. vol. ii. p. 22. But Mr. Butler designs to sneer the Popish exorcists, who pretend to lay or cast out evil spirits.

v. 1516. *Than all your covenanting trustees.*] See 13th Carol. II. chap. xxv. entitled, "An act for restoring all such advowsons, rectories impropriate, glebe-lands, and tythes, to his Majesty's loyal subjects, as were taken from them, and certain charges imposed on them upon their compositions for delinquency by the said usurpers," s. 1, 2, 3.

v. 1519, 1520. ——— *As some demise—The same estate in mortgage twice.*] There was in those days a remarkable case of this kind, that of Mr. Sherfield, the recorder, and famous breaker of glass windows in a church at Sarum; of whom Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the Earl of Strafford (see *Earl of Strafford's Letters*, 1739, vol. i. p. 206) gives the following account: "Sherfield died some thousands in debt, and most wickedly cheated those that dealt with him for that little land he had, a manor near Marlborough. When, as your Lordship knows, he was fined 500 l. in the Star-chamber, he then mortgaged his manor to Mr. Ayres, a bencher in Lincoln's Inn, who lent him upon it 2500 l. Upon his death, he challenging it, Audley, of the court of wards, shews a former mortgage to him; Sir Thomas Jarvis, one more ancient than that; his wife before him challengeth it as her jointure;

T' your mittimus anathemas :  
 And never boggle to restore  
 The members you deliver o'er,  
 1515 Upon demand, with fairer justice  
 Than all your covenanting trustees :  
 Unless, to punish them the worse,  
 You put them in the secular powers,  
 And pass their souls, as some demise  
 1520 The same estate in mortgage twice :  
 When to a legal utlegation  
 You turn your excommunication,  
 And, for a groat unpaid that's due,  
 Distrain on soul and body too.

jointure; his eldest brother shews a conveyance before all these : In conclusion, on his death-bed, he commanded a servant to carry a letter with a key sealed up in it to Mr. Noy, where was assigned in what box of his study at Lincoln's-Inn lay the conveyance of his estate; when it was found, that, by deed bearing date before all those formerly mentioned, he had given all his estate to pious uses." Sic finita est fabula of Mr. Sherfield.

v. 1521. *When to a legal utlegation, &c.*] These saints proceeded in a more formal and rigorous manner in their outlawries than Mr. Selden did in the following instance: "The King of Spain (says he, Table-talk, p. 89) was outlawed in Westminster-hall, I being of council against him: A merchant had recovered costs against him in a suit, which because he could not get, we advised him to have him outlawed for not appearing, and so he was. As soon as Gondimer heard that, he presently sent the money; by reason, if his master had been outlawed, he could not have had the benefit of the law, which would have been very prejudicial, there being many suits then depending between the King of Spain and our English merchants." See the manner of outlawry, Spelman's Glossar. sub voce *Excommunicatio*.

v. 1523, 1524. *And for a groat unpaid that's due,—Distrain on soul and body too.*] A sneer upon the abuse of excommunications by the Presbyterians, which were as rigorous as those in the Romish church, of which I meet with the following account (De Onere

- 1525 Thought he, 'Tis no mean part of civil  
 State prudence to cajole the devil,  
 And not to handle him too rough,  
 When h' has us in his cloven hoof.  
 'Tis true, quoth he, that intercourse  
 1530 Has pass'd between your friends and ours ;  
 That, as you trust us, in our way,  
 To raise your members and to lay,  
 We send you others of our own,  
 Denounc'd to hang themselves, or drown,  
 1535 Or, frightened with our oratory,  
 To leap down headlong many a story ;  
 Have us'd all means to propagate  
 Your mighty interests of state,  
 Laid out our spiritual gifts to further

Banni. Gravamin. Centum Germanicæ Nationis, grav. xxiv. ; Fascicul. Rer. expetendar. et fugiendar. edit. 1690, p. 362): " Denique ob pecuniæ lucrive tantulum, aut alioqui res minimi pretii ad internecionem usque animæ, corporis, honoris, atque rei familiaris, contra divina humanaque jura perducuntur."

Mr. Baker says (History of the Inquisition, chap. ix. p. 115), that the ceremony of a Popish excommunication is thus: " When the bishop pronounces the anathema, twelve priests must stand round him, and hold lighted candles in their hands, which they must throw down to the ground and tread under their feet at the conclusion of the anathema or excommunication."

v. 1541. *For if the saints are nam'd from blood.*] Vide Reusneri Symbolor. Apostolic. class. i. symbol. 62.

v. 1553. *The cock crows, and the morn draws on.*] Alluding probably to the Ghost in Shakespeare's Hamlet.

" But even then the morning cock grew loud,  
 And at the sound it sunk in haste away,  
 And vanish'd from our sight.—

But soft, methinks I scent the morning air,  
 Brief let me be"————

*Ghost in Hamlet.*

See more, act i. vol. vii. p. 230.

Virgil



1540 Your great designs of rage and murder :

For if the faints are nam'd from blood,

We onl' have made that title good ;

And, if it were but in our power,

We should not scruple to do more,

1545 And not be half a foul behind

Of all dissenters of mankind.

Right, quoth the voice, and, as I scorn

To be ungrateful, in return

Of all those kind good offices,

1550 I'll free you out of this distrefs,

And set you down in safety, where

It is no time to tell you here.

The cock crows, and the morn draws on

When 'tis decreed I must be gone ;

Virgil represents the ghost of Anchises thus concluding his instructions to Æneas :

“ Jamque vale; torquet medios nox humida cursus,

Et me sævus equis oriens afflavit anhelis.

Dixerat, et tenues fugit ecu sumus in auras.”      Æn. I. v.

“ The dewy night rolls on her middle course,

And with his panting steeds the rising sun

Severe hath breath'd upon me. Thus he said,

And flew like smoke into the fleeting air.”

Dr. Trapp, v. 937. (Mr. B.)

It is feigned, that Alectryon, which signifies a cock, was a youth beloved by Mars; and, conscious of his adultery with Venus, he was accustomed to watch at the door, and give notice of any that approached: but, falling at one time asleep, they were discovered by the Sun, and caught in a net by Vulcan; for which angry Mars converted him into a fowl with a crest on his crown, representing his helmet, who, mindful of his former neglect, continually crows before the rising of the sun, lest he should take any one tardy. Dr. Meric Casaubon, in his preface to Dee's Book of Spirits, says, “ One tells us, that, when the cock croweth, the solemn meetings of witches are dissolved; and he thinks a reason may be, because of the

- 1555 And if I leave you here till day,  
 You'll find it hard to get away.  
 With that the spirit grop'd about  
 To find th' enchanted hero out,  
 And try'd with haste to lift him up;  
 1560 But found his forlorn hope, his crup,  
 Unserviceable with kicks and blows,  
 Receiv'd from harden'd hearted foes.  
 He thought to drag him by the heels,  
 Like Gresham carts, with legs for wheels;  
 1565 But fear, that soonest cures those sores,  
 In danger of relapse to worse,  
 Came in t' assist him with its aid,  
 And up his sinking vessel weigh'd.  
 No sooner was he fit to trudge,

the crowing of the cock, in the gospel, when St. Peter denied Christ."

v. 1564. *Like Gresham carts, with legs for wheels.*] Mr. Ward, the learned professor of rhetoric in Gresham college, communicated the following note by the worthy Dr. Ducarel:

" March 4, 1662 3. A scheme of a cart with legs that moved, instead of wheels, was brought before the Royal Society, and referred to the consideration of Mr. Hooke, who made a report of it at their next meeting; and, upon the 18th of the same month, that report, with some alterations, was ordered to be sent to the author of that invention, Mr. Potter: and Mr. Hooke was ordered to draw up a full description of this cart; which, together with the scheme, and the animadversions upon it, were to be entered in their books." The first Philosophical Transaction bears date March 6, 1664-5.

v. 1575. Altered to, *Th' outer postern*, edit. 1710.

v. 1586. *But ne'er a saddle on his back.*] Those lines in Churchyard's Chips, p. 74, might be applied to our heroes under these circumstances.

" Then could I call nea oestler knave,  
 Nor face him down my gear was gone,  
 And pick'd away by hangers-on;

That

- 1570 But both made ready to dislodge ;  
 The spirit hors'd him like a sack  
 Upon the vehicle, his back ;  
 And bore him headlong into th' hall,  
 With some few rubs against the wall ;
- 1575 Where finding out the postern lock'd,  
 And th' avenues as strongly block'd,  
 H' attack'd the window, storm'd the glass,  
 And in a moment gain'd the pass ;  
 Thro' which he dragg'd the worsted soldier's
- 1580 Fore-quarters out by th' head and shoulders ;  
 And cautiously began to scout  
 To find their fellow cattle out :  
 Nor was it half a minute's quest,  
 Ere he retriev'd the champion's beast,
- 1585 Ty'd to a pale, instead of rack,  
 But ne'er a saddle on his back,  
 Nor pistols at the saddle bow,  
 Convey'd away, the Lord knows how.  
 He thought it was no time to stay,
- 1590 And let the night too steal away ;

That follow geasts to every inn,  
 By shift some pairs of boets to win.  
 Such filchers have so great a lack,  
 They steal the saddle from the back.  
 But I, that brought a saddle out,  
 Might ride now like a gentil lout:  
 There was no thief to shrewd my shaem,  
 But plain poor Tom to bear the blame."

Sancho Pancha's adventure was more humorous, who had his ass stolen from under him, when asleep, the thief clapping four flukes under the four corners of his pack-saddle. *Don Quixote*, part ii. vol. iii. chap. iv. p. 35.

But

But, in a trice, advanc'd the Knight  
Upon the bare ridge, bolt upright,  
And, groping out for Ralpho's jade,  
He found the saddle too was stray'd,  
1595 And in the place a lump of soap,  
On which he speedily leap'd up;  
And, turning to the gate the rein,  
He kick'd and cudgell'd on amain,  
While Hudibras, with equal haste,  
1600 On both sides laid about as fast,  
And spurr'd as jockies use to break,  
Or padders to secure, a neck.  
Where let us leave 'em for a time,  
And to their churches turn our rhyme;  
1605 To hold forth their declining state,  
Which now come near an even rate.





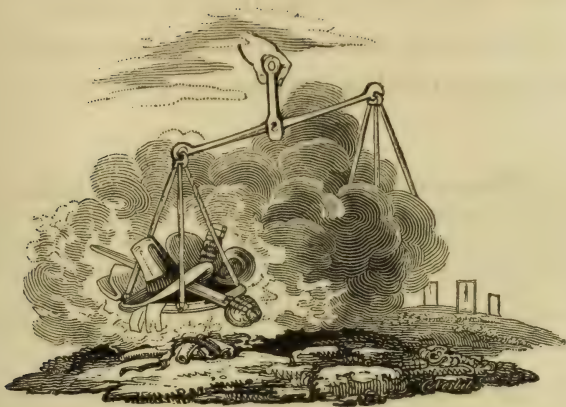
# HUDIBRAS.

## PART III. CANTO II.



## ARGUMENT.

*The saints engage in fierce contests  
About their carnal interests,  
To share their sacrilegious preys  
According to their rites of grace,  
Their various frenzies to reform,  
When Cromwell left them in a storm;  
Till, in th' effigy of Rumps, the rabble  
Burn all the grandees of the cabal.*



### PART III. CANTO II.

THE learned write, an insect breeze  
Is but a mongrel prince of bees,

This Canto is entirely independent of the adventures of Hudibras and Ralpho: neither of our heroes make their appearance: other characters are introduced, and a new vein of satire is exhibited. The Poet steps out of his road, and skips from the time wherein these adventures happened to Cromwell's death, and from thence to the dissolution of the Rump parliament. This conduct is allowable in a satirist, whose privilege it is to ramble wherever he pleases, and to stigmatize vice, faction, and rebellion, where and whenever he meets with them. He is not tied down to the observance of unity of action, time, or place; though he has hitherto had a regard to such decorums: but now, and here only, he claims the privilege of a satirist, and deviates from order, time, and uniformity, and deserts his principal actors: he purposely sends them out of the way, that we may attend to a lively representation of the principles and politics of Presbyterians, Independents,

That falls before a storm on cows,  
 And stings the founders of his house;  
 5 From whose corrupted flesh that breed  
 Of vermin did at first proceed,

pendents, and Republicans, upon the dawning of the Restoration. He sets before us a full view of the treachery and underminings of each faction; and sure it is with pleasure we see the fears and commotions they were in upon the happy declension of their tyrannical power and government. All these occurrences are fully and faithfully related in this Canto, and the several facts are warranted by history. (Mr. B.)

v. 1, 2. *The learned write an insect breeze—Is but a mongrel prince of bees, &c.*] \* Breezes often bring along with them great quantities of insects, which some are of opinion are generated from viscous exhalations in the air; but our author makes them proceed from a cow's dung, and afterwards become a plague to that whence it received its original. He alludes probably to the method of repairing the bee kind mentioned by Virgil, Georg. iv. 283, &c.

“Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri  
 Pandere”

Thus translated by Mr. Dryden:

“’Tis time to touch the precepts of an art  
 Th’ Arcadian master did of old impart;  
 And how he stock’d his empty hives again,  
 Renew’d with putrid gore of oxen slain——  
 First, in a place by nature close, they build  
 A narrow flooring, gutter’d, wall’d, and til’d.  
 In this four windows are contriv’d, that strike  
 To the four winds oppos’d their beams oblique.  
 A steer of two years old they take, whose head  
 Now first with burnish’d horns begins to spread;  
 They stop his nostrils, while he strives in vain  
 To breathe free air, and struggles with his pain.  
 Knock’d down he dies, his bowels, bruise’d within,  
 Betray no wound on his unbroken skin:  
 Extended thus on his obscure abode,  
 They leave the beast; but first sweet flowers are strew’d,  
 Beneath his body broken boughs and thyme,  
 And pleasing cassia just renew’d in prime.  
 This must be done ere Spring makes equal day,  
 When western winds on curling waters play,

Ere



So, ere the storm of war broke out,  
 Religion spawn'd a various rout  
 Of petulant capricious sects,  
 10 The maggots of corrupted texts,

Ere painted meads produce their flow'ry crops,  
 Or swallows twitter on the chimney tops,  
 The tainted blood, in this close prison pent,  
 Begins to boil, and through the bones ferment.  
 Then, wondrous to behold, new creatures rise,  
 A moving mass at first, and short of thighs;  
 Till, shooting out with legs, and imp'd with wings,  
 The grubs proceed to bees, with pointed stings;  
 And, more and more affecting air, they try  
 Their tender pinions, and begin to fly:  
 At length, like summer storms from spreading clouds,  
 They burst at once, and pour impetuous floods;  
 Or flights of arrows from the Parthian bows,  
 When from afar they gall embattl'd foes;  
 With such a tempest through the skies they steer,  
 And such a form the winged squadrons bear."

See an account of blasts, Lord Bacon's *Natural History*, cent. vii. § 696, p. 143; Dr. Baynard's *History of Cold Baths*, part ii. p. 143; Morton's *History of Northamptonshire*, p. 331; Bradley's *Account of Blights from Insects*, *New Improvement of Planting and Gardening*, part iii. chap. v. p. 210, &c.

v. 8. *Religion spawn'd a various rout.*] The author of a *Tale of a Tub*, p. 201, probably alludes to this, where, speaking of Jack, he observes, "That he was a person of great design and improvement in devotion; having introduced a new deity, who has since met with a vast number of worshippers, by some called Babel, by some Chaos, who had an ancient temple of Gothic structure upon Salisbury Plain." See account of the great variety of sects during those times, *Tatler*, No. 256.

"Take —— and his club, and Smec and his tub,  
 Or any sect old or new;  
 The devil's in the pack, if choice you can lack,  
 We are fourscore religions strong."

The *Rebellion Collection of Loyal Songs*, reprinted 1731. vol. i. No. 67, p. 176.

v. 10. *The maggots of corrupted texts.*] The Independents were literally so, having corrupted that text, *Acts* vi. 3, to give the people

That first run all religion down,  
 And after every swarm its own.  
 For, as the Persian Magi once  
 Upon their mothers got their sons,  
 15 That were incapable t' enjoy  
 That empire any other way ;  
 So Presbyter begot the other

people a right to chuse their own pastors: " Wherefore, brethren, look ye out from among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost, whom ye (instead of *we, ως καλασσησωμεν*) may appoint over this business." Mr. Field has this forgery in several of his editions of the Bible; and, among the rest, in his beautiful folio edition of 1659-60, and octavo edition 1661. And I have been informed, that he was the first printer of this forgery, and had 1500*l.* for it. See Mr. Wotton's Visitation Sermon at Newport Pagnel, Bucks, September 7, 1706, p. 7.

" They a bold power o'er sacred scriptures take,  
 Blot out some clauses, and some new ones make."

Mr. Cowley's Puritan and Papist, p. 3.

And they are described by Mr. Dryden (*Religio Laici*, 4th edit. 1701, p. 76) in the following lines:

" Study and pains were now no more their care,  
 Texts were explain'd by fasting and by prayer:  
 This was the fruit the private spirit brought,  
 Occasion'd by great zeal and little thought;  
 While crowds unlearn'd, with rude devotion warm,  
 About the sacred viands buzz and swarm:  
 The fly-blown text creates a crawling brood,  
 And turns to maggots what was meant for food.  
 A thousand daily sects rise up and die,  
 A thousand more the perish'd race supply;  
 So all the use we make of heaven's discover'd will  
 Is not to have it, but to use it ill.  
 The danger's much the same, on several shelves,  
 If others wreck us, or we wreck ourselves."

v. 13. *For as the Persian, &c.*] \* The Magi were priests and philosophers among the Persians, entrusted with the government both civil and ecclesiastic, much addicted to the observation of the stars. Zoroaster is reported to be their first author. They had this custom amongst them to preserve and continue their families,  
 by

Upon the Good Old Cause, his mother,  
 Then bore them like the devil's dam,  
 20 Whose son and husband are the same.  
 And yet no nat'ral tie of blood,  
 Nor int'rest for the common good,  
 Could, when their profits interfer'd,  
 Get quarter for each other's beard.

by incestuous copulation with their mothers. Some are of opinion, that the three wise men that came out of the East to worship our Saviour were some of these.

v. 17, 18. *So Presbyter begot the other,—Upon the Good Old Cause, his mother.*] The author of the dialogue between Mr. Guthry and Mr. Giffan, 1661, p. 21, sets forth their relation in the following manner:

*Giff.* “ They say, they are of nearer relation to you,  
 Your younger brothers, and the wiser too.

*Gu.* I confess, they did follow our pattern a long time, but it was with a design to spoil our copy, and they supplanted us by the same artifice we used, a greater seeming austerity of life and conversation.”

The Presbyterians and Independents were as near akin in a spiritual sense, as Archer (who pretended to be an Irishman) and Foigard, an Irish Popish priest, were in a natural one.

*Archer.* “ Upon my soulvation dere ilt, joy.—But my cushin Mackshane, will you not put a remembrance upon me? *Foigard.* Mackshane! By Saint Patrick, that ilt my name shure enough (*aside*). The devil hang you, joy.—By fat acquaintance are you my cussen?

*Archer.* O, de devil, hang yourself, joy, you know we were little boys togeder upon the school; and your foster moder's son was married upon my nurse's chifter, joy, and so we are Irish cussens.” *Farquhar's Beaux Stratagem*, act iv. p. 65.

v. 24. *Get quarter for each other's beard.*] The Presbyterians, when uppermost, were very unwilling to grant a toleration to the Independents, and other sectaries, as is observed in the Preface. Mr. Calamy, upon demand, what they would do with Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c. said, “ They would not meddle with their consciences, but with their bodies and estates.” *Arraignment of Persecution*, p. 16. For further proof, I beg leave to refer the reader to Sir Roger L'Estrange's Dissenters Sayings, First and

- 25 For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd,  
 But only by the ears engag'd;  
 Like dogs that snarl about a bone,  
 And play together when they've none;  
 As by their truest characters,  
 30 Their constant actions, plainly appears.  
 Rebellion now began, for lack  
 Of zeal and plunder, to grow slack;  
 The cause and covenant to lessen,  
 And providence to be out of season;  
 35 For now there was no more to purchase  
 O' th' King's revenue, and the churches,  
 But all divided, shar'd, and gone,  
 That us'd to urge the brethren on.  
 Which forc'd the stubborn'st, for the cause,  
 40 To cross the cudgels to the laws,

Second Parts, under the article Toleration; and to a tract, entitled, A Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers, published in 1723, p. 66, &c.; Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America, &c. p. 9.

v. 26, 27, 28. *But only by the ears engag'd,—Like dogs that snarl about a bone,—And play together, when they've none.*] The Jews tell of two dogs that were very fierce the one against the other; one of them is assaulted by a wolf, and thereupon the other dog resolves to help him against the wolf that made the assault. Adagia Hebraica, Ray's Proverbs, 2d edit. p. 406; L'Etrange's Fables, part ii. fab. 16.

v. 35, 36. *For now there was no more to purchase—O' th' King's revenue and the churches.*] An ordinance was passed in 1649 for removing of obstructions in the sale of the King's, Queen's, and Princes lands, and several manors and lands were appointed the soldiers for their arrears, whose debentures were now stated by a committee of the army; the common soldiers purchasing in the manner of a corporation by regiments. The frequency of these debentures (which the old officers and reformadoes sold at half-a-



- That what by breaking them th' had gain'd  
 By their support might be maintain'd;  
 Like thieves, that in a hemp-plot lie,  
 Secur'd against the hue and cry,  
 45 For Presbyter and Independent  
 Were now turn'd plaintiff and defendant;  
 Laid out their apostolic functions  
 On carnal orders and injunctions;  
 And all their precious gifts and graces  
 50 On outlawries and *scire facias*;  
 At Michael's term had many a trial,  
 Worse than the Dragon and St. Michael,  
 Where thousands fell, in shape of fees,  
 Into the bottomless abyss.  
 55 For when, like brethren, and like friends,  
 They came to share their dividends,

crown in the pound) drew in several citizens to bargain with the trustees named in the ordinance for the sale of such lands and hereditaments. See Heath's Chronicle, p. 256; and the Ordinance, Scobell's collections, part ii. chap. xlii. p. 51, and for removing obstructions in the sale of the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, id. ib. chap. xxxv. p. 44. There had been nineteen ordinances to the same purpose in the years 1646, 1647, 1648. See the table annexed to the ordinance, 20th of November, 1648. And yet, notwithstanding, Whitehall and Somerset-house were not disposed of, May 16, 1659: For all that time it was resolved by the council of state, that these, with their appurtenances, should be exposed to sale, for paying the great arrears due to the army. Mercurius Politicus, No. 567, p. 448. And Wednesday the 6th of July, 1659, they ordered the sale of Hampton-Court, with the meadows, parks, and deer. Ib. No. 577, p. 576.

v. 51. *At Michael's term, &c*] \* St. Michael, an archangel, mentioned in St. Jude's Epistle, verse 9.

- And every partner to possess  
 His church and state joint-purchases,  
 In which the ablest faint, and best,  
 60 Was nam'd in trust by all the rest  
 To pay their money, and, instead  
 Of every brother, pass the deed;  
 He straight converted all his gifts  
 To pious frauds, and holy shifts;  
 65 And settled all the other shares  
 Upon his outward man and's heirs;  
 Held all they claim'd as forfeit lands,  
 Deliver'd up into his hands,  
 And pass'd upon his conscience,  
 70 By pre-entail of providence;  
 Impeach'd the rest for reprobates,  
 That had no titles to estates,

v. 77, 78. *And laid about as hot and brain-sick—As th' utter barrister of Swanfwick.*] \* William Prynne, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. born at Swanfwick, who styled himself Utter Barrister, a very warm person and voluminous writer, and, after the Restoration, keeper of the records in the Tower. See W. Pryn. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 311, edit. 1692; and the meaning of Utter Barrister, Manley's *Interpreter*, Jacob's *Law Dictionary*, and Chambers's *Cyclopædia*.

v. 80. *As men with sand bags did of old.*] When the combat was demanded in a legal way by knights and gentlemen, it was fought with sword and lance; and, when by yeomen, with sand bags fastened to the end of a truncheon. (Mr. W.) To this custom Ben Jonson alludes, in his *Underwood*, in the King's entertainment, 1633, vol. i. p. 276.

“ Go, Captain Stub, lead on, and shew  
 What house you come on, by the blow  
 You give Sir Quintin, and the cuff  
 You 'scape o' th' sand-bag's counter-buff.”

See the combat between Horner and Peter Thump, with Mr. Warburton's

- But by their spiritual attaints  
 Degraded from the right of faints.
- 75 This b'ing reveal'd, they now begun  
 With law and conscience to fall on:  
 And laid about as hot and brain-sick  
 As th' utter barrister of Swanwick;  
 Engag'd with money-bags, as bold
- 80 As men with sand-bags did of old;  
 That brought the lawyers in more fees  
 Than all un sanctify'd trustees;  
 Till he who had no more to show  
 I' th' case, receiv'd the overthrow;
- 85 Or, both sides having had the worst,  
 They parted as they met at first.  
 Poor Presbyter was now reduc'd,  
 Secluded, and cashier'd, and chous'd;

burton's note, Shakespeare's Second Part of King Henry VI. act ii. vol. iv. p. 233; and the proposal of the Squire of the Wood to Sancho Pancho to fight with a couple of linen bags, with half a dozen smooth stones in each bag, Don Quixote, vol. iii. chap. xiv. p. 128.

v. 87. *Poor Presbyter was now reduc'd.*] The Independents and other sectaries spawned from them, being supported by Oliver Cromwell and the army, soon deprived the Presbyterians of all the power the Lords and Commons had begun to give them. This is alluded to v. 1141, &c.

Mr. Fry, a member of parliament (see his tract, entitled, *The Accuser shamed*, &c. 1648, p. 12), says, "That rigid Sir John Presbyter was desperately sick—and that he would as soon put a sword into the hands of a madman as into the hands of a high-flying Presbyterian."

And in the Last Will and Testament of Sir John Presbyter, printed in the year of jubilee, 1647, p. 7, are the following lines:

"Here lies Jack Presbyter, void of all pity,  
 Who ruin'd the country, and fooled the city.

Turn'd out, and excommunicate  
 90 From all affairs of church and state ;  
 Reform'd t' a reformado saint,  
 And glad to turn itinerant,  
 To stroll and teach from town to town,  
 And those he had taught up teach down,  
 95 And make those uses serve again,  
 Against the new-enlighten'd men,  
 As fit as when at first they were  
 Reveal'd against the Cavalier ;  
 Damn Anabaptist and Fanatic,  
 100 As pat as Popish and Prelatic ;

He turn'd preaching to prating and telling of lies,  
 Caus'd jarrs and dissensions in all families :  
 He invented new oaths rebellion to raise,  
 Deceiving the Commons, whilst on them he preys :  
 He made a new creed, despised the old ;  
 King, state, and religion, by him bought and sold.  
 He four years consulted, and yet could not tell  
 The parliament the way Christ went into hell :  
 Resolved therein he never would be,  
 Therefore in great haste he's gone thither to see."

v. 88. *Secluded.*] Alluding to the seclusion of the Presbyterian members from the house, in order to the King's trial.

v. 91. *Reform'd t' a reformado saint.*] See *Reformado*, Bailey's Dictionary.

v. 92. *And glad to turn itinerant*] " April 12, 1649, it was referred to a committee to consider of a way how to raise pensions and allowances out of dean and chapters lands, to maintain supernumerary ministers, who should be authorised to go up and down, compassing the earth, and adulterating other mens pulpits and congregations." History of Independency, part ii. p. 156.

Hugh Peters (in a tract, entitled, A Word to the Army, and two Words to the Kingdom, 1647, p. 11, Public Library, Cambridge, xix. 7, 20) advises, " That two or three itinerary preachers  
 may



And, with as little variation,  
 To serve for any sect i' th' nation.  
 The good old cause, which some believe  
 To be the devil that tempted Eve  
 105 With knowledge, and does still invite  
 The world to mischief with new light,  
 Had store of money in her purse,  
 When he took her for better or worse;  
 But now was grown deform'd and poor,  
 110 And fit to be turn'd out of door.

The Independents (whose first station  
 Was in the rear of reformation,

may be sent by the state into every county; and a committee of godly men, to send out men of honesty, holiness, and parts, to all counties, recommended from their test." For a further account of these itinerants, see Vavasor Powell, Wood's Athenæ. Oxon. 1st edit. part ii. col. 343, 344, &c.

v. 94. *And those he had taught up teach down.*] The Independents urged the very same doctrines against the Presbyterians which the Presbyterians had before used against the bishops, such as the no necessity of ordination by the hands of the Presbytery, and that church government was committed to the community of the faithful: which doctrines, and others of the like nature, the Presbyterians had preached up, in order to pull down the bishops; but, when the Independents used those arguments against the government they would have set up, they preached them down again. (Dr. B.)

v. 103. *The good old cause* ] The Covenant and Protestation, for which they first pretended to take up arms.

v. 111. *The Independents* ] See the best account of that sect, in the History of Independency, by Clement Walker, Esq. a zealous Presbyterian and secluded member. The first part of his book was published in the year 1648; the second part, entitled, Anarchia Anglicana, 1649, by Theodorus Verax. Mr. Walker, being discovered to be the author by Cromwell, was committed prisoner to the Tower of London, the 13th of November 1649, where he wrote the third part, entitled, The High Court of Justice, or

A mongrel kind of church dragoons,  
 That serv'd for horse and foot at once ;  
 115 And in the saddle of one steed  
 The Saracen and Christian rid ;  
 Were free of every spiritual order,

Cromwell's Bloody Slaughter-house, published in the year 1651. After the Restoration, a fourth part was added, by T. M. Esq; and all four published together in a thick quarto, 1660-1, and Baftwick's Routing of the Independent Army, 4to.

v. 112, 115, 116. *Was in the rear of reformation.—And in the saddle of one steed—The Saracen and Christian rid.*] See an account of the rise of the Independents in the year 1643, where Independency is compared to Mahometanism, Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 435.

Mr. Walker (History of Independency, part i. p. 27) says, "The Independents are a composition of Jew, Christian, and Turk."

v. 117. *Were free of every spiritual order.*] The Romish orders here alluded to are the Jesuits, the Knights of Malta, the Fathers of the Oratory, and the Dominicans, who are at the head of the Inquisition. (Mr. W.)

It was so in Mr. Butler's time ; but Mr. Baker observes (History of the Inquisition, chap. vii. p. 48), "That this office is not, as formerly, committed to the Predicants or Dominican friars : They began to employ in it the secular clergy, who were skilful in the decrees and laws, till at last the whole power gradually devolved on them ; so that now the Dominican friars have no part in it, though the Inquisitors oftentimes use their assistance in judging of propositions, and they are employed as counsellors in the holy office."

v. 118. *To preach, and fight, &c.*] The officers and foldiers among the Independents got into pulpits, and preached, and prayed, as well as fought. Oliver Cromwell was famed for a preacher, and has a sermon in print, entitled, Cromwell's learned, devout, and conscientious Exercise, held at Sir Peter Temple's in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, upon Romans xiii 1. [penes me] in which are the following flowers of rhetoric : "Dearly beloved brethren and sisters, it is true, this text is a malignant one ; the wicked and ungodly have abused it very much ; but, thanks be to God, it was to their own ruin." P. 1.

But now that I spoke of kings, the question is, Whether by the  
 3 higher

To preach, and fight, and pray, and murder:)

No sooner got the start to lurch

120 Both disciplines, of war and church,

And providence enough to run

The chief commanders of them down,

*higher powers* are meant kings or commoners? Truly, beloved, it is a very great question among those that are learned: For may not every one that can read observe, that Paul speaks in the plural number, *higher powers*? Now, had he meant subjection to a king, he would have said, Let every soul be subject to the *higher power*, if he had meant but one man: but by this you see he meant more than one; he bids us be subject to the *higher powers*, that is, the council of state, the house of commons and the army." Ibid. p. 3.

When in the Humble Petition there was inserted an article against public preachers being members of parliament, Oliver Cromwell excepted against it expressly, "because he (he said) was one, and divers officers of the army, by whom much good had been done—and therefore desired they would explain their article." Heath's Chronicle, p. 408.

Ibid. *And pray, and murder.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange observes (Reflection upon Poggius's Fable, of the Husband, Wife, and ghostly Father, part i. fab. 357), upon the pretended saints of those times, "That they did not set one step in the whole train of this iniquity, without seeking the Lord first, and going up to enquire of the Lord, according to the cant of those days; which was no other than to make God the author of sin, and to impute the blackest practices of hell, to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost."

It was with this pretext of seeking the Lord in prayer, that Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and others of the regicides, cajoled General Fairfax, who was determined to rescue the king from execution, giving order to have it speedily done: And, when they had notice that it was over, they persuaded the General, that this was a full return of prayer; and, God having so manifested his pleasure, they ought to acquiesce in it. Perenchief's Life of King Charles I. prefixed to his works, p. 91.

"So the late saints, of blessed memory,  
Cut throats, in godly pure sincerity;  
So they, with lifted hands and eyes devout,  
Said grace, and carv'd a slaughter'd monarch out."

Oldham's Second Satire upon the Jesuits, p. 26, edit. 1703.

- But carry'd on the war against  
 The common enemy o' th' faints ;  
 125 And in a while prevail'd so far,  
 To win of them the game of war,  
 And be at liberty once more  
 T' attack themselves as th' had before.
- For now there was no foe in arms,  
 130 T' unite their factions with alarms,  
 But all reduc'd and overcome,  
 Except their worst, themselves at home :  
 Wh' had compass'd all th' pray'd, and swore,  
 And fought, and preach'd, and plunder'd for,  
 135 Subdu'd the nation, church and state,  
 And all things but their laws and hate.  
 But when they came to treat and transact,  
 And share the spoil of all th' had ransack'd,  
 To botch up what th' had torn and rent,  
 140 Religion and the government,  
 They met no sooner, but prepar'd  
 To pull down all the war had spar'd ;  
 Agreed in nothing, but t' abolish,  
 Subvert, extirpate, and demolish ;

v. 136. *And all things but their laws and hate.*] i. e. The laws of the land, and the hatred of the people.

v. 146. *As Dutch boors are t' a footerkin.*] \* It is reported of the Dutch women, that, making so great use of stoves, and often putting them under their petticoats, they engender a kind of ugly monster which is called a footerkin. See Cleveland's Character of a London Diurnal, Works, 1677, p. 103.

v. 151, 152. *T' out-cant the Babylonian labourers,—At all their dialects of jabberers.*] Dubartas thus describes the confusion at Babel, (Divine Weeks, and Works, p. 418):

“ This said, as soon confusedly did bound,  
 Through all the work, I wot not what strange sound,  
 A jangling



- 145 For knaves and fools b'ing near of kin,  
 As Dutch boors are t' a footerkin,  
 Both parties join'd to do their best,  
 To damn the public interest;  
 And herded only in consults,
- 150 To put by one another's bolts;  
 T' out-cant the Babylonian labourers,  
 At all their dialects of jabberers,  
 And tug at both ends of the saw,  
 To tear down government and law.
- 155 For as two cheats, that play one game,  
 Are both defeated of their aim;  
 So those who play a game of state,  
 And only cavil in debate,  
 Although there's nothing lost nor won,
- 160 The public bus'ness is undone,  
 Which still the longer 'tis in doing,  
 Becomes the surer way to ruin.
- This, when the Royalists perceiv'd,  
 (Who to their faith as firmly cleav'd,
- 165 And own'd the right they had paid down  
 So dearly for, the church and crown,)

A jangling noise, and not much unlike the rumours  
 Of Bacchus swains amidst their drunken humours:  
 Some speak between their teeth, some in the nose,  
 Some in the throat their words do ill dispose;  
 Some howl, some hollow, some do strut and strain,  
 Each hath his gibberish, and all strive in vain  
 To find again their known beloved tongue,  
 That with their milk they suck'd in cradle young."

v. 163. *This when the Royalists perceiv'd.*] What a lasting monument of fame has our poet raised to the Royalists! What merited

- Th' united constanter, and fided  
 The more, the more their foes divided.  
 For though outnumber'd, overthrown,  
 170 And by the fate of war run down,  
 Their duty never was defeated,  
 Nor from their oaths and faith retreated:  
 For loyalty is still the same  
 Whether it win or lose the game;  
 175 True as the dial to the sun,  
 Although it be not shin'd upon.  
 But when these brethren in evil,  
 Their adversaries, and the devil,  
 Began once more, to shew them play,  
 180 And hopes, at least, to have a day;  
 They rally'd in parades of woods,  
 And unfrequented solitudes:  
 Conven'd at midnight in out-houses,  
 T' appoint new rising rendezvous,

rited praise does he bestow on their unshaken faith and loyalty! How happily does he applaud their constancy and sufferings! If any thing can be a compensation to those of that party who met with unworthy disregard and neglect after the Restoration, it must be this never-dying eulogy: Butler, alas! was one of that unfortunate number. (Mr. B.)

v. 175. *True as the dial to the sun, &c.*] The writer of the preface to *The wicked Plots of the pretended Saints, &c.* compares Mr. Foulis, the author, to Little Loyal John, in the epitaph:

“ For the king, church, and blood royal,  
 He went as true as any sun-dial.”

v. 197. *Whom neither chains nor transportation, &c.*] All the methods here mentioned were made use of to dispirit the cavaliers, but to no purpose.

- 185 And, with a pertinacy unmatch'd,  
 For new recruits of danger watch'd.  
 No sooner was one blow diverted,  
 But up another party started,  
 And, as if nature too in haste,  
 190 To furnish our supplies as fast,  
 Before her time had turn'd destruction  
 T' a new and numerous production,  
 No sooner those were overcome,  
 But up rose others in their room,  
 195 That, like the Christian faith, increas'd  
 The more, the more they were suppress'd:  
 Whom neither chains, nor transportation,  
 Proscription, sale, nor confiscation,  
 Nor all the desperate events  
 200 Of former try'd experiments,  
 Nor wounds, could terrify, nor mangling,  
 To leave off loyalty and dangling,

v. 201, 202. *Nor wounds, could terrify, nor mangling,—To leave off loyalty and dangling.*] The brave spirit of loyalty was not to be suppressed by the most barbarous and inhuman usage. There are several remarkable instances upon record: As that of the gallant Marquis of Montrose (see *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's* 4th vol. of the *History of the Puritans*, p. 67, &c.); the loyal Mr. Gerrard, and Mr. Vowel, in 1654 (*Echard's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 761); of Mr. Penruddock, Grove, and others, who suffered for their loyalty at Exeter 1654-5 (*Echard*, vol. ii. p. 774); of Captain Reynolds, who had been of the King's party, and when he was going to be turned off the ladder, cried, God bless King Charles, *Vive le Roy*, (*Whitlock's Memorials*, 2d edit. p. 435); of Dalgelly, one of Montrose's party, who being sentenced to be beheaded, and being brought to the scaffold, ran and kissed it; and without any speech or ceremony, laid down his head upon the block, and was beheaded (*Whitlock*, *ibid.* p. 459);  
 of

Nor death (with all his bones) affright  
 From vent'ring to maintain the right,  
 205 From staking life and fortune down  
 'Gainst all together, for the crown :  
 But kept the title of their cause  
 From forfeiture, like claims in laws :  
 And prov'd no prosp'rous usurpation  
 210 Can ever settle on the nation :  
 Until, in spite of force and treason,  
 They put their loy'lty in possession ;

of the brave Sir Robert Spotswood (Bishop Wihart's History of Montrose, p. 173) ; of Mr. Courtney and Mr. Portman, who were committed to the Tower the beginning of February 1657, for dispersing among the soldiers what were then called seditious books and pamphlets (Mercurius Politicus, No. 402, p. 302) ; of Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewit, Mercurius Politicus, No. 419, p. 583, &c. ; Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 818.

Nor ought the loyalty of the six counties of North Wales to be passed over in silence ; who never addressed or petitioned during the Usurpation (Mercurius Publicus, No. 24, p. 369) ; nor the common soldier mentioned in the Oxford Diurnal, first Week, p. 6, Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 3d vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 203. See more in the story of the impertinent sheriff, L'Estrange's Fables, part ii. fab. 265. Mr. Butler, or Pryn, (see Mola Asinaria, Butler's Remains) speaking of the gallant behaviour of the Loyalists, says, " Other nations would have canonized for martyrs, and erected statues after their death, to the memory of some of our compatriots, whom ye have barbarously defaced and mangled, yet alive, for no other motive but their undaunted zeal."

v. 208. *From forfeiture, like claims in laws.*] See Continual Claims, Coke's Institutes, first part, lib. iii. § 414, fol. 250, 10th edition.

v. 215, 216. *Toss'd in a furious hurricane,—Did Oliver give up his reign.*] \* At Oliver's death was a most furious tempest, such as had not been known in the memory of man, or hardly ever recorded to have been in this nation. See Echard's History of England, vol. ii. It is observed in a tract, entitled, No Fool to the old Fool (L'Estrange's Apology, p. 93), " That Oliver, after  
 a long



And, by their constancy and faith,  
 Destroy'd the mighty men of Gath.

215 Toss'd in a furious hurricane,  
 Did Oliver give up his reign;  
 And was believ'd, as well by faints,  
 As mortal men and miscreants,  
 To founder in the Stygian ferry,  
 220 Until he was retriev'd by Sterry,  
 Who, in a false erroneous dream,  
 Mistook the new Jerusalem,

a long course of treason, murder, sacrilege, perjury, rapine, &c. finished his accursed life in agony and fury, and without any mark of true repentance." See Thurloe's Caunting Letter, occasioned by his death, to Henry Cromwell, Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 372, &c. Though most of our historians mention the hurricane at his death, yet few take notice of the storm in the northern counties that day the House of Peers ordered the digging up his carcase with other regicides. See Mercurius Publicus, No. 51, p. 816. The author of the Parley between the Ghost of the late Protector, and the King of Sweden, in Hell, 1660, p. 19, merrily observes, "That he was even so turbulent and seditious there, that he was chained by way of punishment in the general pissling-place, next the court door, with a strict charge, that no body that made water thereabouts should piss any where but against his body."

v. 219. *To founder in the Stygian ferry.*]

" Old Oliver's gone to the dogs,  
 Oh! no, I do mistake.  
 He's gone in a wherry  
 Over the ferry  
 Is call'd the Stygian lake.  
 But Cerberus, that great porter,  
 Did read him such a lecture,  
 That made him to roar  
 When he was come on shore  
 For being Lord Protector."

Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, No. 3, p. 6.

v. 220. *Until he was repriev'd by Sterry.*] The news of Oliver's death being brought to those who were met to pray for him,  
 Mr.

Profanely for th' apocryphal  
 False heaven at the end o' th' hall;  
 225 Whither it was decreed by fate  
 His precious reliques to translate.  
 So Romulus was seen before

Mr. Peter Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled: "For (said he) this is good news, because, if he was of use to the people of God, when he was amongst us, he will be much more so now, being ascended into heaven at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us upon all occasions." Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 825; Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 612. See a tract entitled, No Fool to the old Fool, published with L'Estrange's Apology, p. 93; Phœnix Britannicus, p. 154. Dr. South makes mention of an Independent divine (Sermons, vol. i. serm. iii. p. 102), who, when Oliver was sick, of which sickness he died, declared, "That God revealed to him, that he should recover, and live thirty years longer; for that God had raised him up for a work, which could not be done in a less time; but, Oliver's death being published two days after, the said divine publicly in his prayers expostulated with God the defeat of his prophecy in these words: "Thou hast lied unto us; yea, thou hast lied unto us."

So familiar were those wretches with God Almighty, that Dr. Echard observes of one of them, see his Observation upon the Answer to the Enquiry into the Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy, p. 106, "That he pretended to have got such an interest in Christ, and such an exact knowledge of affairs above, that he could tell the people, that he had just before received an express from Jesus, upon such a business, and that the ink was scarce dry upon the paper."

v. 224. *False heaven, &c.*] \* After the Restoration Oliver's body was dug up, and his head set up at the farther end of Westminster-hall, near which place there is an house of entertainment, which is commonly known by the name of Heaven.

v. 227. *So Romulus, &c.*] \* A Roman senator, whose name was Proculus, and much beloved by Romulus, made oath before the senate, that this prince appeared to him after his death, and predicted the future grandeur of that city, promising to be protector of it; and expressly charged him, that he should be adored there under the name of Quirinus; and he had his temple on mount Quirinal.

B' as orthodox a fenator ;  
 From whose divine illumination

230 He stole the Pagan revelation.

Next him his son and heir apparent  
 Succeeded, though a lame vicegerent ;

v. 231, 232. *Next him his son and heir apparent—Succeeded, though a lame vicegerent.* \* Oliver's eldest son Richard was, by him before his death, declared his successor ; and, by order of the privy council, proclaimed Lord Protector, and received the compliments of congratulation and condolence, at the same time, from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen ; and addresses were presented to him from all parts of the nation, promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. He summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, which recognised him Lord Protector ; yet, notwithstanding, Fleetwood, Desborow, and their partisans, managed affairs so, that he was obliged to resign. Mr. Butler expresses himself to the same purpose, in his tale of the Cobbler and Vicar of Bray, Remains :

“ What's worse, Old Noll is marching off,  
 And Dick, his heir apparent,  
 Succeeds him in the government,  
 A very lame vicegerent :  
 He'll reign but little time, poor tool,  
 But sink beneath the state,  
 That will not fail to ride the fool  
 'Bove common horseman's weight.”

And another poet speaks of him and his brother Henry in the following manner :

“ But young Dick and Harry, not his heirs, but his brats,  
 As if they had less wit and grace than gib-cats,  
 Slunk from their commands like a brace of drown'd rats.”

The Rump Carbonado'd, Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 122.

What opinion the world had of him, we learn from Lord Clarendon's account of his visit incog. to the Prince of Conti, at Pezenas, who received him civilly, as he did all strangers, and particularly the English ; and after a few words (not knowing who he was), “ the Prince began to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the King, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him ? which the other answered according to the truth. Well, said the Prince, Oliver, though he was a traitor, and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command.

Who first laid by the parliament,  
 The only crutch on which he leant;  
 235 And then sunk underneath the state,  
 That rode him above horseman's weight.  
 And now the saints began their reign,  
 For which th' had yearn'd so long in vain,  
 And felt such bowel-hankerings  
 240 To see an empire all of kings,

mand. But for that Richard, that coxcomb, coquin, poltroon, he was surely the basest fellow alive: What is become of that fool? How is it possible he could be such a sot? He answered, That he was betrayed by those he most trusted, and had been most obliged to his father. So being weary of his visit, he quickly took his leave, and next morning left the town, out of fear that the Prince might know that he was that very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly; and two days after the Prince did come to know who he was that he had treated so well." Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 519.

v. 233, 234. *Who first laid by the parliament,—The only crutch on which he leant.*] See this in some measure disproved, Life of Secretary Thurloe, prefixed to his Letters, p. 17. See a song entitled 2d Part of Knaves out of Doors, Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, vol. ii. No. 17, p. 69; Arfy Versy, or the 2d Martyrdom of the Rump, § iv. vol. ii. p. 92.

v. 237. *And now the saints began their reign. &c.*] A sneer upon the committee of safety; amongst whom was Sir Henry Vane, who (as Lord Clarendon observes, vol. iii. b. xvi. p. 544) "was a perfect enthusiast, and without doubt did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, that he did at the same time believe he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years." See an account of him in Baxter's Life, in folio, p. 74, who mentions a sect, called from him, Vanists.

v. 241, 242. *Deliver'd from the Egyptian awe—Of justice, government, and law.*] Dr. James Young observes (Sidrophel Vapulans, p. 13, from Mr. Pryn's true and perfect Narrative, &c. p. 60), "That two jesuitical prognosticators, Lilly and Culpeper, were so confident, ann. 1652, of the total subversion of the law  
and



Deliver'd from th' Egyptian awe  
 Of justice, government, and law,  
 And free t' erect what spiritual cantons  
 Should be reveal'd, or gospel Hans-towns,  
 245 To edify upon the ruins  
 Of John of Leyden's old outgoings;  
 Who, for a weather-cock hung up,  
 Upon their mother church's top;

and gospel ministry, that, in their scurrilous prognostications, they predicted the downfall of both; and in 1654 they foretold, that the law should be pulled down to the ground,—the great charter, and all our liberties destroyed, as not suiting with Englishmen in these blessed times: that the crab-tree of the law should be pulled up by the roots, and grow no more, there being no reason now we should be governed by them."

v. 244. ———— *Gospel Hans-towns.*] The Germans bordering on the sea, being anciently infested by Barbarians, for their better defence, entered into a mutual league, and gave themselves the name of Hans-towns, either from the sea, on which they bordered, or from their faith, which they had plighted to one another with their own hand (*Hansfæ*), or from the same word, which in their language signified a league, society, or association. Bailey.

v. 245, 246, 247, 248. *To edify upon the ruins—Of John of Leyden's old outgoings;—Who, for a weather-cock hung up—Upon their mother church's top.*] John Buckold, Becold, or Bokelson, an Anabaptist tailor (some say a shoemaker or cobbler) of Leyden, mock King of Munster, was hung with two of his rebel associates (all in iron cages) upon the highest tower of the city, called St. Lambert's. Vide Johann. Sleidan. Comment. lib. x. p. 207, 208, Francofurti ad Mænum, 1568; Chronic. Chronicor. Ecclesiastic. lib. ii. p. 553; Mezeray's Hist. of France, part ii. p. 598; Dupin's Eccles. Hist. of the 16th cent. p. 182; Abridgment of Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation of the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 43; Alexander Ross's View of all Religions, 6th edit. p. 411; Misson's New Voyage to Italy, &c. vol. i. p. 17.

" Then John of Leyden, Noll, and all  
 Their goblin ghostly train,

R 2

Brave

Was made a type by providence,  
 250 Of all their revelations since ;  
 And now fulfill'd by his successors,  
 Who equally mistook their measures :  
 For, when they came to shape the model,  
 Not one could fit another's noddle ;  
 255 But found their lights and gifts more wide  
 From fadging, than th' unsanctify'd ;  
 While every individual brother  
 Strove hand to fist against another,  
 And still the maddest, and most crack'd,

Brave rebel saints, triumphant shall  
 Begin the second reign."

Sir John Birkenhead revived, p. 36.

v. 267, 268. *Some were for setting up a king,—But all the rest for no such thing.*]

" Some for a king, and some for none ;  
 And some have hankerings  
 To mend the commonwealth, and make  
 An empire all of kings."

Tale of the Cobbler and Vicar of Bray, Butler's  
 Remains, p. 153.

Harry Martyn, in his speech, in the debate, Whether a king, or no king? said, " That, if they must have a king, they had rather have had the last than any gentleman in England ; he found no fault in his person, but office." Walker's History of Independence, part ii. p. 150.

v. 269. *Unless King Jesus, &c.*] Alluding to the Fifth Monarchy Men, who had formed a plot to dethrone Cromwell, and set up King Jesus. Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 815.

" Cæsar, not Christ, the ancient Jews  
 Paid tribute of their treasure ;  
 Our Jews no king, but Christ, will chuse,  
 And rob and cry down Cæsar."

Mercurius Pragmaticus, No. 6, May 9, 1648.

" But seven years of a thousand 'tis  
 Our saints must rulers be ;

For

260 Were found the busiest to transact;  
 For though most hands dispatch apace,  
 And make light work (the proverb says),  
 Yet many different intellects  
 Are found t' have contrary effects;  
 265 And many heads t' obstruct intrigues,  
 As slowest insects have most legs.  
 Some were for setting up a king,  
 But all the rest for no such thing,  
 Unless King Jesus: others tamper'd  
 270 For Fleetwood, Desborough, and Lambert;

For they shall lose in years of bliss  
 Nine hundred ninety-three."

Mercurius Pragmaticus, No. 8. See Sir J. Birken-  
 head revived, p. 37.

" But Overton most with wonder doth seize us,  
 By securing of Hull for no less than Christ Jesus;  
 Hoping (as it by the story appears)  
 To be there his lieutenant for one thousand years."

Arfy Verfy, ft. 25, Collection of Loyal Songs, re-  
 printed 1731, vol. ii. No. 20.

The Fifth Monarchy Men published their tenets before Crom-  
 well arrived at his pitch of grandeur, as appears from the two  
 following tracts (penes me).

The Sounding of the last Trumpet; or several Visions, declar-  
 ing, The universal overturning and rooting up of all earthly Powers  
 in England, with many other Things foretold, which shall come to  
 pass in this year 1650; lately shewed unto George Foster, who  
 was commanded to print them. Printed in the year 1650.

Sion's approaching Glory; or the great and glorious Day of the  
 Lord King Jesus his appearing, before whom all the Kings of the  
 Nations must fall, and never rise again; accurately described ac-  
 cording to the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles, in three-and-  
 forty Sections. By James Freze, Merchant. London, printed for  
 W. Larnar, 1652.

In 1654, John Spittlehouse published A Vindication of the  
 Fifth Monarchy Men, in answer to a speech of O. Cromwell's in  
 the Painted Chamber, September 4, 1654. Mr. Bridges, in his  
 Dedication prefixed to a Thanksgiving Sermon before the Com-

Some for the Rump, and some more crafty,  
For agitators, and the safety;

mons, May 17, 1648 (see *Century of Eminent Presbyterian Preachers*, p. 76), exhorts them "to do what in them lies to bring the blessed King Jesus into his throne of inheritance." See a further account of their principles, from their printed book, entitled, *The Standard*; *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 358, p. 7742, &c.; *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 604; *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 154; *Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America*, p. 19; *Alexander Ross's View of all Religions in the World*, p. 260, 261.

v. 269, 270. ——— *Others tamper'd—For Fleetwood, Desborough, and Lambert.*] Fleetwood was a lieutenant general: he married Ireton's widow, O. Cromwell's eldest daughter; was made Lord-lieutenant of Ireland by Cromwell, Major-general of divers counties, one of Oliver's upper house; his salary supposed to be 6600*l.* a year. *Second Narrative of the late Parliament*, so called, 1658, p. 14, (penes me.)

v. 270. ——— *Desborough,*——] A yeoman of 60 or 70*l.* per annum (some say a ploughman). In a tract, entitled, *A brief Account of the Meeting, Proceedings, and Exit of the Committee of Safety*, London, 1659, p. 9 (penes me), Bennet, speaking to Desborough, says,—“When your Lordship was a ploughman, and wore high shoon—Ha! how the Lord raifeth some men, and depresseth others.”

“Janizary Desbrow then look'd pale;  
For, said he, if this rump prevail,  
'Twill blow me back to my old plough-tail,  
Which no body can deny.”

*The Rump, a Song*, *Collect. of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii. p. 29.

Desborough married Cromwell's sister, cast away his spade, and took up a sword, and was made a Colonel,—was instrumental in raising Cromwell to the protectorship; upon which he was made one of his council, a General at sea, and Major-general of divers counties of the west, and was one of Oliver's upper house (*Second Narrative of the Parliament*, so called, p. 15). The writer of the *First Narrative of the Parliament*, so called, observes, p. 9, that his annual income was 3236*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Mr. Butler, in his *Parable of the Lion and Fox* (*Remains*), girds him severely in the following lines:

“Says Desborough, for that his name was,  
Who afterwards grew very famous,  
And, as his neighbours all can tell,  
I' th' civil wars was Colonel;

Nay,



Some for the gospel, and massacres  
Of spiritual affidavit-makers,

Nay, some there be that will not stick  
To say, he was so politic,  
Or, if you will, so great a rogue,  
That, when rebellion was in vogue,  
That he among the rest was one  
That doom'd the King to martyrdom."

See his name in the list of regicides, Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 103; and a further account of him, Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 823.

Ibid. ——— and Lambert.] *Lambard* in the first edit. 1678, altered 1684. He was one of the Rump generals, and a principal opposer of General Monk, in the restoration of King Charles II. (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 872.) The writer of the Narrative of the late Parliament, so called, 1657, p. 9, observes, That Major-Gen. Lambert, as one of Oliver's council, had 1000l. per ann. which, with his other places, in all amounted to 6512l. 3s. 4d.

v. 272. *For agitators, &c.*] In 1647 (see Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 569) the army made choice of a set number of officers, which they called the General Council of Officers; and the common soldiers made choice of three or four of each regiment, mostly corporals and serjeants, who were called by the name of Agitators, and were to be a House of Commons to the Council of Officers: These drew up a declaration, that they would not be disbanded till their arrears were paid, and a full provision made for liberty of conscience.

Mr. Butler, in a ludicrous speech which he makes for the Earl of Pembroke (Remains, p. 266), has the following words: "I perceive your Lordships think better of me, and would acquit me, if I was not charged by the agitators.—'Sdeath, what's that? who ever heard the word before? I understand classical, provincial, congregational, national, but for agitator, it may be, for aught I know, a knave not worth threepence: If agitators cut noblemen's throats, you will find the devil has been an agitator."

Some of the positions of the agitators here follow: "That all Inns of Court and Chancery, all courts of justice now erected, as well civil as ecclesiastical, with the common, civil, canon, and statute laws, formerly in force, and all corporations, tenures, copyholds, rents, and services, with all titles and degrees of honour, nobility, and gentry, elevating one free subject above another, may be totally abolished, as clogs, snares, and grievances, to a  
R 4 free-born

- 275 That swore to any human regence,  
 Oaths of supremacy and allegiance :  
 Yea, though the ablest swearing faint,  
 That vouch'd the bulls o' th' covenant :  
 Others for pulling down th' high-places  
 280 Of fynods and provincial classes,  
 That us'd to make such hostile inroads

free-born people, and inconsistent with that universal parity and equal condition which ought to be among freemen, and opposite to the communion of saints.

" That all the lands and estates of deans, chapters, prebends, universities, colleges, halls, free schools, cities, corporations, ministers, glebe lands, and so much of the lands of the nobility, gentry, and rich citizens and yeomen, as exceeds the sum of three hundred pounds per annum, and all the revenues of the crown belonging to the king or his children, be equally divided between the officers and soldiers, and the army, to satisfy their arrears, and recompense their good services."

The total and final demands, already made by, and to be expected from, the agitators and army.—London, printed 1647, p. 6. Public Library, Cambridge, xix. 9, 3.

See Hampton-Court Conspiracy, with the Downfall of the Agitators and Levellers, who would admit no distinction of Birth or Title, and, out of the Lands of the whole Kingdom in general, would proportion an equal estate to every Man in particular. Printed 1647. Publ. Libr. Camb.

The author, p. 6, defines an " agitator to be an arch tub-traitor of this age, whom the devil lately tossed out of the bottomless pit, to drive on his designs, prick principalities, and torment the times." See Mr. Peck's Notes on the Baptists; New Memoirs of Milton's Life, p. 419.

Ibid. ———— *and the safety.*] Committee of Safety, a set of men who took upon them the government, upon displacing the Rump a second time: Their number amounted to twenty-three, which, though filled up with men of all parties (Royalists excepted), yet was so craftily composed, that the balance was sufficiently secured to those of the army faction. Echard, vol. ii. p. 854. See their names, History of Independency, part iv. p. 69, 70.

Upon the faints, like bloody Nimrods :  
 Some for fulfilling prophecies,  
 And th' extirpation of th' excise ;  
 285 And some against th' Egyptian bondage  
 Of holidays, and paying poundage :  
 Some for the cutting down of groves,  
 And rectifying baker's loaves ;

So here's a committee of Safety compounded  
 Of knave, and of fool, of Papist and Roundhead ;  
 Of basis of treason, and tyranny grounded.

The Committee of Safety, Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, vol. ii. p. 148.

They are bantered by the author of a tract, entitled, A Parley between the Ghosts of the Protector and the King of Sweden in Hell, p. 10. "Phanatic Committee of Safety (saith the Protector), there's a word that requires another Calvin's industry to make a comment on it: And, then, naming them again, he fell into such a laughter, that he waked the great devil, who was lying upon a bench hard by, something drunkish. What's the matter, cries Beelzebub? What's the matter, cries the Protector? Can you lie sleeping there, and hear us talk of a Phanatic Committee of Safety? Cudihobs, quoth the Devil, this England is a plaguy country; Africa itself never bred such monsters; and upon that he began to call for his guard: But the King of Sweden soon prevented his fear, by the relation he made of their being turned out of commission."

v. 283 *Some for fulfilling prophecies.*] i. e. Carrying their arms against the Pope, the whore of Babylon. (Mr. W.)

v. 285, 286. *And some against the Egyptian bondage—Of holidays—*] There was an ordinance to abolish festivals, die Martis, 8 Junii 1647, throughout England and Wales; and every second Tuesday in the month to be allowed to scholars, apprentices, and other servants, for their recreation: This was confirmed by another ordinance of lords and commons, die Veneris, 11 Junii 1647, and die Lunæ, 28 Junii 1647. An additional ordinance was made concerning days of recreation allowed unto scholars, apprentices, and other servants, occasioned by the apprentices petition, and propositions presented unto the honourable house of commons, June 22, 1647.

v. 287. ——— *cutting down of groves.*] i. e. Demolishing the  
 4 churches.

- And some for finding out expedients  
 290 Against the slavery of obedience.  
 Some were for gospel ministers,  
 And some for red-coat seculars,  
 As men most fit t' hold forth the word,  
 And wield the one and t' other sword.  
 295 Some were for carrying on the work  
 Against the Pope, and some the Turk;  
 Some for engaging to suppress

churches. (Mr. W.) Alluding to the old superstition of consecrating groves to idols. See notes upon the second book of Mr. Cowley's *Davideis*, Works, vol. i. edit. 1707, p. 385.

v. 291, 292. *Some were for gospel ministers,—And some for red-coat seculars.*] See an account of the six militant preachers at Whitehall with Oliver Cromwell, Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 153; and of Major-General Vernon's preaching, Thurloe's State-papers, vol. iv. p. 328; and note upon Cornet Joyce's sermon, Thurloe's State-papers, vol. vii. p. 8, 18.

v. 297, 298. *Some for engaging to suppress—The camifado of surplices.*] Their antipathy to the surplice is thus expressed by a writer of those times: "Have not they so long persecuted the poor surplice in most churches, that they have scarce left any man a shirt in the whole parish?" (The Judgment of an old Grand Juryman in Oxfordshire, concerning the breaking of the late treaty at Uxbridge, Oxford, 1645, p. 4; Public Library, Cambridge, xix. 9. 3.) Mr. Warburton observes, "That, when the soldiers, in a night expedition, put their shirts over their armour, in order to be distinguished, it is called a camifade. These sectaries were for suppressing the episcopal meetings, then held secretly, which the author with high humour calls a camifade."

The word is taken from the Latin word *camisia*, or the Greek *καμισιον*, which signifies a priest's white garment, or what we now call a surplice. See Mr. Hearne's Glossary to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 597; Skinner's Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae, sub voce *Camifade*; Table to Barret's Theorike and Practike of Modern Wars, 1598.

v. 303, 304. *Others were for abolishing—That tool of matrimony, a ring.*

"Because



The camifado of furlplices,  
 That gifts and difpenfations hinder'd,  
 300 And turn'd to th' outward man the inward ;  
 More proper for the cloudy night  
 Of Popery, than gofpel light.  
 Others were for abolifhing  
 That tool of matrimony, a ring,  
 505 With which th' unfanctify'd bridegroom  
 Is marry'd only to a thumb ;

“ Because the wedding ring's a fafhion old,  
 And fignifies, by the purity of gold,  
 The purity requir'd i' th' married pair,  
 And by the rotundity the union fair,  
 Which ought to be between them endless, for  
 No other reafon, we that ufe abhor.”

A long-winded Lay-lecture, published 1674, p. 5.

“ They will not hear of wedding rings,  
 For to be us'd in their marriage ;  
 But fay they're fuperftitious things,  
 And do religion much difparage :  
 They are but vain, and things profane,  
 Wherefore now, no wit befpeaks them,  
 So to be ty'd unto the bride,  
 But do it as the fpirit moves them.”

A Curtain-lecture, Loyal Songs, vol. i. No. 15.

See the objections of the difsenters, againft the ring in marriage, answered, by Dr. Comber, Office of Matrimony, &c. folio edit. part iv. § 3 ; Dr. Nicholls upon the Office of Matrimony ; Mr. Wheatley's Rational Illuftration, folio edit. p. 407, &c.

v. 306. *Is marry'd only to a thumb.*] Thumb is put for the rhyme's fake, for the fourth finger of the left hand ; the ring being always put upon that finger by the bridegroom. The reafon given by Aulus Gellius, (Noct. Attic. lib. x. cap. x.) that there is a fmall nerve in that finger, which communicates directly with the heart ; for which reafon, both Greeks and Romans wore it upon that finger.

The original of which cuftom is given by another author in the following words : Alcadas X. Rex Affyriorum regnavit annis 33, et anno ejus 11. “ Sparta condita eft a filio Phoronei, qui in-

(As wife as ringing of a pig,  
 That us'd to break up ground, and dig)  
 The bride to nothing but her will,  
 310 That nulls the after marriage still.  
 Some were for th' utter extirpation  
 Of linsy-woolsey in the nation ;

venit usum annulorum ; et in quarto digito poni anulum debere dixit, quia ab illo vena pertingit ab cor." Gobelini, *Personæ, Cosmodromii ætas* 111 ; Meibomii *Rer. Germanic. tom. i. p. 89.*

"Pectoris, & digito pignus fortasse dedisti, &c."

Juvenal. Sat. vi. 27, 28.

" They say, thy hair the curling art is taught,  
 The wedding ring perhaps already bought :  
 A sober man, like thee, to change his life !  
 What fury would possess thee with a wife ?"

Dryden.

See a curious dissertation upon the ring finger, Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book iv. chap. iv ; Mr. Wheatley's *Rational Illustration*, p. 409 ; Dr. Wotton's *Reflections upon ancient and modern learning*, chap. x. p. 133.

v. 308. *That us'd to.*] *That is to*, edit. 1678, *That uses to*, edit. 1684, 1689, 1694, 1700, 1704, altered 1710, as it stands here.

v. 309. *The bride to nothing but her will.*] The thing this quibble turns upon, is this, the first response the bride makes in the marriage ceremony is, I will. (Mr. W.)

Shakespeare alludes probably to the same thing, (*Love's Labour Lost*, act i. vol. ii. p. 111) in Boiet's words to Biron, when he enquired after Rosaline.

*Biron.* " Is she wedded, or no ?

*Boiet.* " To her will, Sir, or so."

v. 311, 312. *Some were for th' utter extirpation—Of linsy-woolsey in the nation.*] Some were for Judaizing, or observing some of the laws peculiar to that people, linsy-woolsey being forbidden by the law. See Deuteronomy xxii. 11. (Mr. W.)

" That we may have an incorrupt religion, without guileful mixture ; not a linsy-woolsey religion ; all new-born babes will desire word-milk, sermon-milk, without guile, without adulterating." Thomas Hall's *Fast Sermon*, July 27, 1642, p. 5.

v. 313,

And some against all idolising  
The cross in shop-books, or baptising :

315 Others, to make all things recant  
The christian, or surname of saint ;  
And force all churches, streets, and towns,  
The holy title to renounce.

v. 313, 314. *And some against all idolising—The cross in shop-books.*] Some were for using a sponge to the public debts. (Mr. W.) “Scriveners were commanded to shew their shop-books, that notice might be taken who were guilty of having money in their purses, that the fattest and fullest might be sequestered for delinquents.” (Walker’s History of Independency, part ii. p. 189.) See their unreasonable antipathy to all sorts of crosses exposed, from a tract entitled, A Dialogue between the Cross in Cheap and Charing-cross. Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal’s Third Volume of the History of the Puritans, p. 81.

Sir John Birkenhead likewise banters those Precisians: “An Act for removing the Alphabet-Cross from the Childrens Primer, and the Cross from off the Speaker’s Mace, and for adding St. Andrew’s Cross to St. George’s in the States Arms.” (Paul’s Church-yard, cent. ii. class 6, No. 139.)

“Resolved, &c. That all crosses are due to the state, and therefore all coin that is stamped with that superstitious kind of idolatry is confiscated by modern laws to the devil’s melting-pan.” Paul’s Church-yard, cent. iii. class 11, No. 40, p. 21.

v. 317, 318. *And force all churches, streets, and towns,—The holy title to renounce.*] Churches, parishes, and even the apostles, were unsainted in the mayoralty of the famous Alderman Pennington, and continued so to the year 1660. See Strype’s Survey of London, vol. ii. book v. p. 7. The malice and rage of both Roundheads and Cavaliers ran high upon this particular; of which we have a merry instance in the case of Sir Roger de Coverley, which I cannot forbear transcribing: “That worthy knight being then but a stripling, had occasion to enquire the way to St. Ann’s Lane, upon which the person, whom he spoke to, instead of answering his question, called him a young Popish cur, and asked him who made Ann a saint? The boy being in some confusion, enquired of the next he met, which was the way to Ann’s Lane? but was called a prick-eared cur for his pains; and, instead of being shewn the way, was told, that she had been a saint before he was born, and would be one after he was hanged.

Upon

Some 'gainst a third estate of souls,  
 320 And bringing down the price of coals :

Upon which (says Sir Roger) I did not think fit to repeat the former question, but, going into every lane of the neighbourhood, asked what they called the name of that lane : by which ingenious artifice, he found out the place he enquired after, without giving offence to any party." Spectator, No. 125. (Mr. B.)

The mayor of Colchester banished one of that town for a Malignant and a Cavalier (in the year 1643), whose name was Parsons, and gave this learned reason for this exemplary piece of justice, that it was an ominous name. Mercurius Rusticus, No. 16, p. 196.

v. 319. *Some 'gainst a third estate of souls.*] I suppose he means the place which in the New Testament is called *αἰδης*, and is there plainly distinguished from Gehenna, though both are translated by the English word Hell. Some persons in Mr. Butler's time began to write of this place as different both from heaven and hell ; and as the receptacle of all souls, good and bad, until the resurrection. Bishop Bull has two sermons printed on this middle state. See likewise Sir Peter's King's Critical History of the Apostles Creed, upon the article of Christ's Descent into Hell. (Dr. B.)

v. 320. *And bringing down the price of coals.*] Though Mr. Butler says, in another place,

Those that write in rhyme still make  
 The one verse for the other's sake ;  
 The one for sense, and one for rhyme,  
 I think sufficient at a time.

I cannot but think, that this is either designed as a sneer upon Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, who, when Governor of Newcastle upon Tyne, without any public authority, presumed to lay a tax of four shillings a chaldron upon coals, which was estimated to amount to 50,000*l.* a year. (Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 151.) And the author of a tract, entitled, No Fool to the old Fool, L'Estrange's Apology, p. 95, calls him, The Episcopal Coal-merchant, Sir Arthur for Durham. A tax was laid upon coals by the members at Westminster, of one pound ten shillings upon an hundred pound of great English or Scotch coals. See a Treatise of Excise, annexed to the City Alarm, 1645, p. 30 ; Pub. Lib. Cambridge, xix. 9. 3. Or an allusion to a tract, entitled, The Woodmonger's Remonstrance, or the Carman's Controversy rightly stated ; by W. L. London, 1649, p. 29. The title of one section, Expedience to abate the Price of  
 Sea-



Some for abolishing black-pudding,  
And eating nothing with the blood in ;

Sea-Coal (penes me) : Or to a tract entitled, Sea-Coal, Charcoal, and Small-Coal ; or, a Discourse between a Newcastle Collier, a Small-Coal Man, and a Collier of Croydon, concerning the Prohibition of trade with Newcastle ; and the fearful Complaint of the Poor of the City of London, for the enhancing the price of Sea-Coals, London, 1643 (penes me) : One paragraph of which I take the liberty of transcribing :

*Small-Coal.*—" As your faithful companion, and one that loves you very well, without offence let me advertise you, this enhancing your price already, and the fear that you will daily rise higher and higher, begets no small murmurs in the city. First and foremost, your brewers cry out, they cannot make their ale and beer so strong as it was wont to be, by reason of the dearth or scarcity of fuel ; and then all the good fellows, such as myself, that used to toast our noses over a good sea-coal fire of my kindling, at an ale-house, with a pot of nappy ale, or invincible stale beer, cry out upon the smallness both of the fire and liquor, and curse your avarice, Sea-Coal, that occasions these disasters : For your bricklayers and builders with open throats exclaim at your scarcity ; the bricks, which were badly burnt before, are now scarce burnt at all, no more than if they were only baked in the sun, and are so brittle that they will not hold the lay : Cooks, that noble fraternity of Fleet-Lane, and in general through the city, raise their meat at least two pence in a joint ; and, instead of roasting it twice or thrice according to their ancient custom, sell it now blood-raw, to the detriment of the buyer : Finally, ale-houses rail at your dearth abominably, and all the poor people of this populous city and its large suburbs, whose slender fortunes could not lay out so much money together as would lay their provisions in for the whole winter, cry out with many bitter execrations, that they are forced to pay two or three pence in a bushel more than they were wont to do, and accuse your factors (Sea-Coal) as wharfmen, wood-mongers, chandlers, and the like, of too apparent injustice and covetousness in ingrossing the whole store into their hands, and selling them at their own prices, as if there were a dearth of your commodities in the city, when it is very well known there is provision enough of sea-coal to serve it plentifully, without supplies from Newcastle, for these twenty months and more : so that, if some course be not taken, the people, especially the poorer sort, must undergo great want."

To abrogate them roots and branches :  
 While others were for eating haunches  
 325 Of warriors, and now and then  
 The flesh of kings and mighty men ;  
 And some for breaking of their bones  
 With rods of ir'n, by secret ones :

v. 322. *And eating nothing with the blood in.*] See Dr. Shuckford's Connection, vol. i. p. 96.

v. 323. *To abrogate them roots and branches.*] This was the spirit of the times : There was a proposal to carry twenty Royalists in front of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, to expose them to the fire of the enemy : and one Gourdon moved, " That the Lady Capel, and her children, and the Lady Norwich, might be sent to the General with the same directions, saying, their husbands would be careful of their safety ; and when divers opposed to barbarous a motion, and alledged, that Lady Capel was great with child, near her time ; Gourdon pressed it the more eagerly, as if he had taken the General for a man-midwife." Walker's History of Independency, part i. p. 99. Nay, it was debated at a council of war (see History of Independency, part ii. p. 30, from Sedgwick's Justice upon the Army's Remonstrance), " To massacre and put to the sword all the King's party : The question put was carried in the negative but by two votes." Their endeavours (says he, History of Independency, part iii. p. 11) " was how to diminish the number of their opposites the Royalists and Presbyterians by a massacre ; for which purpose many dark lanterns were provided last winter (1649), which, coming to the common rumour of the town, put them in danger of the infamy and hatred that would overwhelm them : so this was laid aside." A bill was brought in, 1656, for decimating the Royalists, but thrown out. See Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 20, 37, 38. And this spirit was but too much encouraged by their clergy. Mr. Caryl (in a Thanksgiving Sermon before the Commons, April 23, 1644, p. 46) says, " If Christ will set up his kingdom upon the carcases of the slain, it well becomes all elders to rejoice and give thanks. Cut them down with the sword of justice, root them out, and consume them as with fire, that no root may spring up again." George Walker before the Commons, Jan. 29, 1644, p. 19 ; Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers, p. 46. " Of all Ahab's family and persecuting house, there was not a man left to make  
 water

For thrashing mountains, and with spells  
 330 For hallowing carriers' packs and bells;  
 Things that the legend never heard of,  
 But made the wicked fore afear'd of.

The quacks of government (who sat  
 At th' unregarded helm of state,

water against the wall, not one man of all Baal's priests escaped, but all cut off." Walker, *ibid.* p. 39; Century, &c. *ibid.*

Of this spirit was Mr. George Swathe, minister of Denham, in Suffolk, who, in a prayer, July 13, 1641 or 42, see Swathe's Prayers, p. 31, has the following remarkable words: "Lord, if no composition will end the controversy between the King and Parliament, but the King and his party will have blood; let them drink of their own cup; let their blood be spilled like water; let their blood be sacrificed to thee, O God, for the sins of our nation."

v. 327, 328. *And some for breaking of their bones—With rods of iron, &c.*] A sneer upon their canting abuse of Psalm ii. 9.

v. 329. *For thrashing mountains.*] A sneer upon the cant of the Fifth Monarchy Men, for their misapplication of that text, Isaiah xli. 15, "Thou shalt thresh the mountains, and beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff." Of whom Mr. Thurloe observes (State Papers, vol. vi. p. 185), "That they encouraged one another with this, that though they were but worms, that yet they should be made instruments to thresh mountains."

v. 329, 330. ———— *and with spells—For hallowing carriers' packs and bells.*] Alluding to their horrid canting abuse of Scripture phrase, especially of those two passages, Isaiah xli. 15. Zech. xiv. 20.

"Here are perform'd the conjurings and spells,  
 For christ'ning saints, and hawks, and carriers bells."

Oldham's 4th Sat. against Jesuits.

v. 332. ———— *afear'd of.*] *Afraid of*, edit. 1678; altered to *Afear'd of*, 1684.

v. 333. *The quacks of government.*] These were the politicians of those times; namely, Mr. Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, Ennesley, Manchester, Roberts, and some others, who were apprehensive of a revolution: They saw the necessity of a restoration, that matters might fall again into their right channel,

- 335 And understood this wild confusion  
 Of fatal madness, and delusion,  
 Must, sooner than a prodigy,  
 Portend destruction to be nigh)  
 Consider'd timely, how t' withdraw,  
 340 And save their wind-pipes from the law ;  
 For one rencounter at the bar  
 Was worse than all th' had 'scap'd in war ;  
 And therefore met in consultation  
 To cant and quack upon the nation ;  
 345 Not for the sickly patient's sake,  
 Nor what to give, but what to take :  
 To feel the purses of their fees,  
 More wise than fumbling arteries ;  
 Prolong the snuff of life in pain,  
 350 And from the grave recover—gain.  
       'Mong these there was a politician,

after the strange convulsions and disorders that followed upon Cromwell's death. They wisely therefore held their cabals, to consult of methods how to secure themselves. (Dr. B.)

v. 351. *'Mong these there was a politician.*] This was Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who complied with every change in those times. Mr. Wood's character of him (Athen. Oxon. 1st edit. vol. ii. col. 540, 541) tallies exactly with this; as does Mr. Butler's. See Fable of the Lion and the Fox, Remains; and, in many respects, Mr. Dryden's Abialom and Achitophel, p. 3, Fables, folio edit. 1701.

v. 352. *With more heads than a beast in vision.*] See Revelations xiii.

v. 355, 356. *So politic, as if one eye—Upon the other were a spy.*] He is thus described by the author of a poem, entitled, The Progress of Honesty; or the View of Court and City, p. 22 :

“ Some call him Hophni, some Achitophel,  
 Others chief advocate for hell ;

Some



- With more heads than a beast in vision,  
 And more intrigues in every one  
 Than all the whores of Babylon :
- 355 So politic, as if one eye  
 Upon the other were a spy,  
 That, to trepan the one to think  
 The other blind, both strove to blink :  
 And in his dark pragmatic way
- 360 As busy as a child at play.  
 H' had seen three governments run down,  
 And had a hand in every one :  
 Was for 'em and against 'em all,  
 But barb'rous when they came to fall :
- 365 For, by trepanning th' old to ruin,  
 He made his interest with the new one ;  
 Play'd true and faithful, though against  
 His conscience, and was still advanc'd.

Some cry, He sure a second Janus is,  
 And all things past and future sees ;  
 Another, rapt in satire, swears his eyes  
 Upon himself are spies ;  
 And sily do their optics inwards roil  
 To watch the subtle motions of his soul ;  
 That they with sharp perspective sight,  
 And help of intellectual light,  
 May guide the helm of state aright.  
 Nay, view what will hereafter be,  
 By their all-seeing quality."

v. 363. *Was for 'em and against 'em all.*] Bishop Burnet was well acquainted with the Earl of Shaftesbury, and confirms this part of his character. He tells us (*History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 97), the Earl was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made ; and valued himself for the doing it at the properest season, and in the best manner. See a song, called *Chips of the old Block*, ft. 20, *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii. No. 14, p. 57.

- For by the witchcraft of rebellion  
 370 Transform'd t' a feeble state-camelion,  
 By giving aim from side to side,  
 He never fail'd to save his tide,  
 But got the start of every state,  
 And, at a change, ne'er came too late ;  
 375 Could turn his word, and oath, and faith,  
 As many ways as in a lath :  
 By turning, wriggle, like a screw,  
 Int' highest trust, and out, for new.  
 For when h' had happily incurr'd,  
 380 Instead of hemp, to be preferr'd,  
 And pass'd upon a government,  
 He play'd his trick, and out he went :  
 But being out, and out of hopes  
 To mount his ladder (more) of ropes ;  
 385 Would strive to raise himself upon  
 The public ruin, and his own.  
 So little did he understand  
 The desp'rat'st feats he took in hand,  
 For, when h' had got himself a name  
 390 For fraud and tricks, he spoil'd his game ;

v. 370. ————*state-camelion.*] Alluding to that famous tract of Buchanan's so called. (Mr. W.) This tract was wrote against the Laird of Liddington. Vide edit. Lugd. Batav. 1710, vol. i. *prope finem.*

v. 371. *By giving aim from side to side.*] In all the editions till 1710, and then altered thus, *By giving aim from either side.*

v. 399, 400. *As th' earth is easiest undermin'd—By vermin impotent and blind.*] Comparing him to the mole. *Talpa cæcior* is an old proverb: The mole has an imperfect sight. See Sir Thomas Browne's

Had forc'd his neck into a noose,  
 To shew his play at fast and loose;  
 And, when he chanc'd t' escape, mistook,  
 For art and subtlety, his luck.

395 So right his judgment was cut fit,  
 And made a tally to his wit,  
 And both together most profound  
 At deeds of darkness under ground:  
 As th' earth is easiest undermin'd  
 400 By vermin impotent and blind.

By all these arts, and many more,  
 H' had practis'd long and much before,  
 Our state-artificer foresaw  
 Which way the world began to draw.

405 For as old finners have all points  
 O' th' compass in their bones and joints;  
 Can by their pangs and aches find  
 All turns and changes of the wind,  
 And, better than by Napier's bones,  
 410 Feel in their own the age of moons:  
 So guilty finners in a state  
 Can by their crimes prognosticate,

Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book iii. chap. xviii; Ray's *Proverbial Sayings*, p. 279; Mole's *Spectacles*, *Spectator* or *Tatler*. One might have imagined that Cockney to have been much blinder than the mole, who took a bush hung round with moles, for a black-pudding tree; Foulis's *History of wicked Plots*, &c. p. 91.

v. 409. *And better than by Napier's bones.*] \* The famous Lord Napier of Scotland, the first inventor of logarithms, contrived also a set of square pieces, with numbers on them, made generally of ivory, which perform arithmetical and geometrical calculations,  
 S 3 and

And in their consciences feel pain  
 Some days before a shower of rain.  
 415 He therefore wisely cast about  
 All ways he could, t' insure his throat ;  
 And hither came t' observe and smoke  
 What courses other riskers took ;

and are commonly called Napier's bones." See Harris's *Lexic. Technic.* ; Chambers's *Cyclopædia* ; Leybourn's *Art of Numbering by speaking Rods*, 1685 ; Mr. Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, 1740, p. 120. &c. ; Lilly's *History of his own Life and Times*, p. 105.

Mr. Butler likewise might have in view the case of Archibald Lord Napier, a great royalist (see Bishop Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 204), who died in his Majesty's service at Francaftle in Athol.—“ The committee (in Bishop Guthry's words) resolved to raise his bones, and make a forefaulture thereupon ; and, for that end, letters were ordained to be executed at the Pier of Leith against Archibald Lord Napier, his son, then in exile for his loyalty, to appear upon sixty days warning, to see the same done. And when his friends were startled at this, and enquired what was meant by it, they found it was only to draw money from the new Lord Napier, for the use of some sycophants that expected it ; and so they advanced five hundred marks for that end, and thereupon the intended forefaulture was discharged.”

v. 420. *To save himself, and hang the rest.*] Of this principle was Ralpho. See *Dunstable Downs*, *Remains*, p. 101.

“ As for betraying of my master,  
 A broken head must have a plaister ;  
 A master, who is not a stark afs,  
 Will hang his man to save his carcase ;  
 And if the man is such an elf  
 To save his master hang himself,  
 The matter, as't appears to me,  
 Renders the man *felo de se*.”

Sir A. Ashley Cooper was of the miller's mind, who was concerned in the Cornish rebellion, in the year 1558. He, apprehending, that Sir William Kingston, Provost-Marshal, and a rigorous man upon that occasion, would order him to be hanged upon the next tree, before he went off, told his servant that he expected some gentlemen would come a fishing to the mill ; and



And to the utmost do his best  
420 To save himself, and hang the rest.

To match this saint, there was another,  
As busy and perverse a brother,  
An haberdasher of small wares,  
In politics and state-affairs :

if they enquired for the miller, he ordered him to say that he was the miller. Sir William came according to expectation, and, enquiring for the miller, the poor harmless servant said he was the miller. Upon which the Provost ordered his servants to seize him, and hang him upon the next tree; which terrified the poor fellow, and made him cry out, I am not the miller, but the miller's man: the Provost told him that he would take him at his word. "If (says he) thou art the miller, thou art a busy knave and rebel; and if thou art the miller's man, thou art a false lying knave, and canst not do thy master more service than to hang for him;" and without more ceremony he was executed. (Grafton's Chronicle, Speed's Chronicle, edit. 1627, p. 823; History of England from authentic Records, &c. 1706, vol. i. p. 410.) Or of Giffan's mind, who says to Guthry (see Dialogue between Mr. Guthry and Mr. Giffan, 1661, p. 24), "God's Bread, Sir, you'll e'en say enough for us baith; would your reverence might hang for us baith."

v. 421. *To match this saint there was another, &c.*] This character exactly suits John Lilburn, and no other (though it is an anachronism, as I shall shew below), especially the 437, 438, 439, and 440th lines. For it was said of him, when living, by Judge Jenkins (Wood's Athen. Oxon. part ii. col. 102), "That, if the world was emptied of all but himself, Lilburn would quarrel with John, and John with Lilburn;" which part of his character gave occasion for the following lines at his death:

"Is John departed, and is Lilburn gone?  
Farewell to both, to Lilburn and to John.  
Yet, being dead, take this advice from me,  
Let them not both in one grave buried be:  
Lay John here, and Lilburn thereabout,  
For, if they both should meet, they would fall out."

Lilburn died a Quaker, August 28, 1657 (see Mercurius Politicus, No. 379, p. 1597; Mr. Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, from Mr. Smith's Obituary, vol. ii. lib. xiv. p. 30), a full year before Oliver Cromwell; whereas this thing happened not till a year after

- 425 More Jew than Rabbi Achitophel,  
 And better gifted to rebel :  
 For, when h' had taught his tribe to 'spouse  
 The cause, aloft, upon one house,  
 He scorn'd to set his own in order,  
 430 But try'd another, and went further :  
 So suddenly addicted still  
 To's only principle, his will,  
 That, whatsoe'er it chanc'd to prove,  
 No force of argument could move ;  
 435 Nor law, nor cavalcade of Holburn,  
 Could render half a grain less stubborn ;  
 For he at any time would hang,  
 For th' opportunity t' harangue,  
 And rather on a gibbet dangle,  
 440 Than miss his dear delight to wrangle :  
 In which his parts were so accomplish'd,  
 That right or wrong he ne'er was non-plus'd ;  
 But still his tongue ran on, the less  
 Of weight it bore, with greater ease ;  
 445 And, with its everlasting clack,  
 Set all mens ears upon the rack.  
 No sooner could a hint appear,  
 But up he started to picqueer,

that Usurper's death. But this is not the only mistake in chronology that Mr. Butler is guilty of. (See, in proof, Note upon Verse 1239, 1240.) See a character of Lilburn, Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 512 ; and an account of his obstinacy, his Trial reprinted, I think, in the State Trials.

v. 435. ———— *Nor cavalcade of Holburn.*] Alluding to the cavalcade

- And made the stoutest yield to mercy,  
 450 When he engag'd in controversy;  
 Not by the force of carnal reason,  
 But indefatigable teasing;  
 With vollies of eternal babble,  
 And clamour more unanswerable.
- 455 For though his topics, frail and weak,  
 Could ne'er amount above a freak,  
 He still maintain'd 'em, like his faults,  
 Against the desp'ratest assaults;  
 And back'd their feeble want of sense,  
 460 With greater heat and confidence:  
 As bones of Hectors, when they differ,  
 The more they're cudgel'd, grow the stiffer.  
 Yet when his profit moderated,  
 The fury of his heat abated:
- 465 For nothing but his interest  
 Could lay his devil of contest.  
 It was his choice, or chance, or curse,  
 T' espouse the cause for better or worse,  
 And with his worldly goods and wit,  
 470 And soul and body, worshipp'd it;  
 But when he found the fullen trapes  
 Possess'd with th' devil, worms, and claps;

cavalcade of the Sheriff and his officers, through Holburn, upon an execution at Tyburn.

v. 448. *But up he started to picquer.*] "*Picker* or *skirmish*, as light horsemen do, before the main battle begins." Bailey.

v. 469, 470. *And with his worldly goods and wit,—And soul and body, worshipp'd it.*] Alluding to the words in the office of matrimony,

- The Trojan mare in foal with Greeks,  
 Not half so full of jadish tricks,  
 475 Though squeamish in her outward woman,  
 As loose and rampant as Dol Common :  
 He still resolv'd to mend the matter,  
 T' adhere and cleave the obstinater :  
 And still the skittisher and looser  
 480 Her freaks appear'd, to fit the closer.  
 For fools are stubborn in their way,  
 As coins are harden'd by th' allay :  
 And obstinacy's ne'er so stiff,  
 As when 'tis in a wrong belief.  
 485 These two, with others, being met,  
 And close in consultation set ;  
 After a discontented pause,  
 And not without sufficient cause,

mony, " With my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow."

v. 473. *The Trojan mare in foal with Greeks.*] \* After the Grecians had spent ten years in the siege of Troy without the least prospect of success, they bethought them of a stratagem, and made a wooden horse capable of containing a considerable number of armed men : this they filled with the choicest of their army, and then pretended to raise the siege : upon which the credulous Trojans made a breach in the walls of the city to bring in this fatal plunder : but when it was brought in, the inclosed heroes soon appeared, and, surprising the city, the rest entered in at the breach. Vide Diâ. Cretens. de Bello Trojano, lib. v. p. 199, 200, edit. Basil. 1548 ; Chaucer's Squire's Tale, fol. 23, edit. 1602.

v. 476. *As loose and rampant as Dol Common.*] Dol Common was colleague to Subtle the alchymist, and Face the house-keeper, in Ben Jonson's play called the Alchymist (Works, folio, 1641, vol. i. p. 526, &c.), and a great strumpet.

*Rampant* (as well as *Romps*) comes probably from *Arompo*, which is an animal, that is a man-cater, in South Guinea. See Churchill's Voyages



- The orator we nam'd of late,  
 490 Less troubled with the pangs of state,  
 Than with his own impatience,  
 To give himself first audience,  
 After he had a while look'd wise,  
 At last broke silence and the ice.
- 495 Quoth he, There's nothing makes me doubt  
 Our last out-goings brought about,  
 More than to see the characters  
 Of real jealousies and fears  
 Not feign'd, as once, but sadly horrid,  
 500 Scor'd upon every member's forehead:  
 Who, 'cause the clouds are drawn together,  
 And threaten sudden change of weather,  
 Feel pangs and aches of state-turns,  
 And revolutions in their horns:

Voyages and Travels, vol. v. p. 214; and Plain Dealer, vol. ii. No. 76, p. 160.

v. 482. *As coins are harden'd by th' alloy.*] The more copper a silver coin contains, the harder it is; and, for that reason, plate-silver, which contains one part of copper to twenty-four parts of silver, is harder than the copper silver, which contains but a quarter of a part of copper to twenty-four parts of silver. See Lemery's Chemistry, 3d edit. p. 92. The silver with so small an alloy was, probably, what Alfenius the Civilian interpreted the money to be which the Carthaginians agreed to pay the Romans; *Certum pondo argenti, puri puti.* Vide Aul. Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. vi. cap. v.

v. 485, 486. *These two, with others, being met,—And close in consultation set.*] This cabal was held at Whitehall, at the very time that General Monk was dining with the city of London. I heartily wish the poet had introduced the worthy Sir Hudibras into this grand assembly: his presence would have continued an uniformity in this poem, and been very pleasing to the spectator. His natural propension to loquacity would certainly have exerted itself

505 And, ſince our workings-out are croſs'd,  
 Throw up the cauſe before 'tis loſt.  
 Was it to run away, we meant,  
 When, taking of the covenant,  
 The lameſt cripples of the brothers  
 510 Took oaths to run before all others :  
 But in their own ſenſe only ſwore  
 To ſtrive to run away before ;  
 And now would prove, that words and oath

itſelf on ſo important an occaſion; and his rhetoric and jargon would not have been leſs politic or entertaining, than that of the two orators here characteriſed. (Mr. B.)

v. 520. *I mean Marg'ret's faſt.*] In thoſe times, the word *saint* was not permitted to be given to any but the friends to the rebellion; and the churches which were called Saint Margaret's, Saint Clement's, Saint Martin's, Saint Andrew's, they called Margaret's, Clement's, Martin's, Andrew's. (Dr. B.)

Some of their forefathers amongſt the disciplinarians, ſuch as Penry, the author of Martin Mar-Prelate, inſtead of Saints, ſtyled ſome of the apoſtles and the Virgin Mary, in deriſion, Sirs; as, Sir Peter, Sir Paul, Sir Mary. See Biſhop Couper's Preface to his Admonition to the People of England.

The faſt referred to might be either that appointed upon Oliver Cromwell's death, to be held September 10, 1658, Mercurius Politicus, No. 433, p. 823; or that appointed by Richard Cromwell, and his council, September 24, to be held 13th of October following, Mercurius Politicus, No. 435, p. 880; or that appointed Dec. 17, for the 29, Mercurius Politicus, No. 546, p. 84.

" Let their prieſts prate and pray,  
 By order, and at Margaret's keep  
 An humiliation day."

Mercurius Pragmaticus, No. 4, April 25, 1648.

Theſe faſts during the uſurpation were not ſo frequent as before. It is obſerved, by Mr. Foulis (Hiſtory of the wicked Plots of the pretended Saints, p. 215), " That at the beginning of the wars, a public monthly faſt was appointed for the laſt Wedneſday of every month; but no ſooner had they got the King upon the ſcaffold, and the nation fully ſecured to the Rump's intereſt,  
 but

Engage us to renounce them both ?  
 515 'Tis true, the cause is in the lurch,  
 Between a right and mongrel church :  
 The Presbyter and Independent,  
 That stickle which shall make an end on't,  
 As 'twas made out to us the last  
 520 Expedient,—(I mean Marg'ret's fast)  
 When providence had been suborn'd,  
 What answer was to be return'd.

but they thought it needless to abuse and gull the people with a multitude of prayers and sermons—and so by a particular act of their worships (April 23, 1649) nulled the proclamation for the observation of the former : all which verifieth the old verses,

“ The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be ;  
 The devil was well, the devil a monk was he.”

George Fox, the father of the Quakers, observes upon their fasts in general (Journal, p. 194, 294), “ That both in the time of the long parliament, and of the Protector so called, and of the committee of safety, when they proclaimed fasts, they were commonly like Jezebel's, and there was some mischief to be done.” Their fasting was mere outside shew and mockery : and, in some respects, they were like the holy maid mentioned by John Taylor the water-poet (see his *Jack-a-Lent*, Works, p. 114, and an account likewise of the *Old Wife of Venice* ; Foulis's *History of the wicked Plots and Conspiracies of the pretended Saints*, p. 215, from the *Beehive of the Romish Church*, fol. 23), “ that enjoined herself to abstain four days from any meat whatsoever ; and, being locked up close in a room, she had nothing but her two books to feed upon : but the two books were two painted boxes, made in the form of great bibles, with clasps and bosses, the insides not having one word of God in them.—But the one was filled with sweetmeats, and the other with wine ; upon which this devout votary did fast with zealous meditation, eating up the contents of one book, and drinking as contentedly the other.” Vide *Miraculum Fratris Jefunantis*—Fascicul. Rer. expetendar. et fugiendar. p. 521.

v. 521. *When providence had been suborn'd.*] Alluding to the impudence of those pretended saints, who frequently directed  
 God

- Else why should tumults fright us now,  
 We have so many times gone through?  
 525 And understand as well to tame,  
 As, when they serve our turns, t' inflame.  
 Have prov'd how inconsiderable  
 Are ll engagements of the rabble,  
 Whose frenzies must be reconcil'd,  
 530 With drums, and rattles, like a child;  
 But never prov'd so prosperous,  
 As when they were led on by us:  
 For all our scouring of religion  
 Began with tumults and sedition:  
 535 When hurricanes of fierce commotion  
 Became strong motives to devotion:  
 (As carnal seamen, in a storm,  
 Turn pious converts, and reform)

God Almighty what answers he should return to their prayers. Mr. Simeon Ash was called the *God-challenger*, Letter sent to London from a Spy at Oxford, 1643, p. 4.

v. 537, 538. *As carnal seamen, in a storm,—Turn pious converts, and reform.*] The cowardice of sailors, in a storm, is humorously exposed by Rabelais, in the character of Panurge. (Works, b iv. chap. xviii. p. 78, &c.) “ Murder! this wave will sweep us away. Alas! the mizen-sail’s split; the gallery’s washed away; the masts are sprung; the main top-mast head drives into the sea; the keel is up to the sun; our shrouds are almost all broke and blown away. Alas! alas! Who shall have this wreck? Friend, lend me here behind you one of these whales: Your lanthorn is fallen, my lads. Alas! don’t let go the main tack, nor the bowlin. I hear the block crack; is it broke? For the Lord’s sake, let us save the hull, and let all the rigging be d——d.—Look to the needle of your compass, I beseech you, good Sir Astrophel, and tell us, if you can, whence comes this storm? My heart’s sunk down below my midriff.—By my troth I am in a sad fright—I am lost for ever—I confkite myself for mere madness and  
fear



When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges,  
 540 Maintain'd our feeble privileges,  
 And brown bills, levy'd in the city,  
 Made bills to pass the grand committee :  
 When zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves,  
 Gave chace to rochets and white sleeves,  
 545 And made the church, and state, and laws,  
 Submit t' old iron, and the cause :  
 And as we thriv'd by tumults then,  
 So might we better now again,  
 If we know how, as then we did,  
 550 To use them rightly in our need.  
 Tumults, by which the mutinous  
 Betray themselves instead of us ;  
 The hollow-hearted, disaffected,  
 And close malignant, are detected :

fear—I am drowned, I am gone, good people I am drowned.”  
 See Shakespeare's *Tempest*, act i. ; *Tatler*, No. 111, *Of the Atheist*  
*in a Storm*; *Amb's Ace*, Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Fables*, part ii.  
*fab.* 115.

v. 539. *When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges.*] To fight with  
 rusty or poisoned weapons was against the law of arms : So when  
 the citizens used the former, they chalked the edges. (Mr. W.)  
 See *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's *Plays*, vol. vii. p. 342.

v. 544. *Gave chace to rochets and white sleeves.*] Alluding to the  
 insults of the mob upon the bishops in those times. Lord Cla-  
 rendon informs us (*History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 266),  
 “ That the mob laid hands upon the Archbishop of York, going  
 to the house of peers, in that manner, that, if he had not been  
 seasonably rescued, it was believed, they would have murdered  
 him : So that all the bishops and many members of both houses  
 withdrew themselves from attending, from a real apprehension of  
 endangering their lives.” See *French Report*, *Loyal Songs*, re-  
 printed 1731, vol. i. No. 11, p. 25. See the word *rochets* explained,  
*Wheatley's Rational Illustration*.

- 555 Who lay their lives and fortunes down,  
 For pledges to secure our own;  
 And freely sacrifice their ears  
 T' appease our jealousies and fears.  
 And yet for all these providences  
 560 W' are offer'd, if we had our senses,  
 We idly sit like stupid blockheads,  
 Our hands committed to our pockets;  
 And nothing but our tongues at large,  
 To get the wretches a discharge.  
 565 Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts,  
 Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts:  
 Or fools besotted with their crimes,  
 That know not how to shift betimes;  
 And neither have the hearts to stay,  
 570 Nor wit enough to run away:  
 Who, if we could resolve on either,  
 Might stand or fall at least together;  
 No mean nor trivial solace  
 To partners in extreme distress;  
 575 Who use to lessen their despairs  
 By parting them int' equal shares;  
 As if the more they were to bear,

v. 565, 566. *Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts—Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts.*] viz. soldiers condemned to be shot.

“ Quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos prius dementat.”

This has happened to some men from less affecting circumstances. The famous Italian poet Tasso being imprisoned by order of the Duke of Ferrara, for a challenge given in his palace, upon which a duel ensued, was, in his confinement, dejected with so deep a melancholy, that it terminated in a stupidity. Mr. Fenton's  
 Observations

They felt the weight the easier :  
 And every one the gentler hung,  
 580 The more he took his turn among.  
 But 'tis not come to that, as yet,  
 If we had courage left, or wit :  
 Who, when our fate can be no worse,  
 Are fitted for the bravest course ;  
 585 Have time to rally, and prepare  
 Our last and best defence, despair :  
 Despair, by which the gallant'st feats  
 Have been atchiev'd in greatest straits,  
 And horrid'st dangers safely wav'd,  
 590 By being courageously out-brav'd ;  
 As wounds by wider wounds are heal'd,  
 And poisons by themselves expell'd :  
 And so they might be now again,  
 If we were, what we should be, men ;  
 595 And not so dully desperate  
 To side against ourselves with fate :  
 As criminals condemn'd to suffer,  
 Are blinded first, and then turn'd over.  
 This comes of breaking covenants,  
 600 And setting up exauns of saints,

Observations on Waller's Poems, 4to. p. 18. See another instance of an innocent curate by mistake, taken up by the Inquisition in Italy, Baker's History of the Inquisition, p. 332.

v. 592. *And poisons by themselves expell'd.*] See annotations on Religio Medici, 1672, p. 213 ; Dr. Derham's Physico-Theology, book ii. chap. vi. p. 56, 57, 7th edit.

v. 600. *And setting up exauns of saints.*] This is false printed : it should be written *exemts* or *exempts*, which is a French word pronounced

That fine, like aldermen, for grace,  
 To be excus'd the efficace.  
 For spiritual men are too transcendent,  
 That mount their banks for independent,  
 605 To hang, like Mahomet, in the air,  
 Or St. Ignatius, at his prayer,  
 By pure geometry, and hate  
 Dependence upon church or state :  
 Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter,  
 610 And since obedience is better

pronounced *exauns*. (Mr. D.) *Exempt des gardes du corps*; an *exempt*, a life-guard, free from duty. Boyer's French Dictionary.

v. 601. *That fine, like aldermen, for grace.*] Formerly, whether it be so still in London I know not, when a man fined for alderman, he commonly had the title, and was called Mr. Alderman, though he sat not on the bench. These fanatics, if they were generous to the holder-forth, and duly paid him a good fine, received grace, and became saints by that means, though their lives were very wicked. (Dr. B.)

v. 605. *To hang, like Mahomet, in the air.*] " Travellers have told us of two magnets, that are placed one of them in the roof, and the other on the floor of Mahomet's burying-place at Mecca; and by that means (say they) pull the impostor's iron coffin with such an equal attraction, that it hangs in the air between both of them." Spectator, No. 191. They mistake the place of his burial; for I think both Dr. Prideaux and Mr. Reland agree in this particular, that he was buried at Medina, where he died, and under the bed where he died; as appears from Abul-Feda his contemporary: " Sepultus est sub lecto in quo mortuus est; Tumulum ei effodet Abu-Talba Al. Ansarius." (Ismael Abul-Feda de vita Mohammedis, ed. Oxon. 1723, per Jo. Gagnier, p. 141. Not. Gagnier.) " Idem vir Cl. Pocockius, ibid. nostrorum hominum de sepulchro Mohammedis ignorantiam, merito perstringit his verbis: Unde igitur nobis Mohammedis cista ferrea inclusis; et magnetum vi in ære pendulus? Hæc cum Mohammediis recitantur, risu exploduntur, ut nostrorum in ipsorum rebus, inscitia argumentum." See Le Blanc's Travels, part i. chap. iv. p. 13; and the report of the coffin's being swallowed up  
 by



(The scripture says) than sacrifice,  
 Presume the less on't will suffice;  
 And scorn to have the moderat'ft stints,  
 Prescrib'd their peremptory hints,

615 Or any opinion, true or false,  
 Declar'd as such, in doctrinals:  
 But left at large to make their best on,  
 Without being call'd t' account or question.  
 Interpret all the spleen reveals,  
 620 As Whittington explain'd the bells;

by the opening of the pavement of the temple, Turkish Spy,  
 vol. iv. book iv. letter ii.

v. 606. *Or St. Ignatius, at his prayer.*] \* The legend says of Ignatius Loyola, that his zeal and devotion transported him so, that at his prayers he has been seen to be raised from the ground for some considerable time together. Vide Maffei Vit. Ignatii, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 297, 298, edit. Colon. Agrippin. 1590; Mr. Henry Wharton's tract, entitled, The Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome, demonstrated in some Observations upon the Life of Ignatius Loyola, London 1688, p. 69, &c.

v. 609. *Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter.*] See Note, Part II. Canto ii. v. 211.

v. 620. *As Whittington explain'd the bells.*] Referring to the old ballad, in which are the following lines:

“ So from the merchant-man  
 Whittington secretly  
 Towards his country ran,  
 To purchase liberty.  
 But as he went along,  
 In a fair summer's morn,  
 London bells sweetly rung,  
 Whittington back return:  
 Evermore sounding so,  
 Turn again Whittington;  
 For thou in time shall grow  
 Lord Mayor of London:  
 And to the city's praise,  
 Sir Richard Whittington

And bid themselves turn back again  
 Lord May'rs of New Jerusalem:  
 But look so big and overgrown,  
 They scorn their edifiers t' own,  
 625 Who taught them all their sprinkling lessons,

Came to be in his days,  
 Thrice Mayor of London."

*Four times, Weever's  
 Funeral Monuments.*

See a full account of him, and his great benefactions, Stowe's Survey of London, 4to. 1599; Weever's Ancient Funeral Monuments, p. 434; Baker's Chronicle, edition 1670, p. 169; Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 434; Rapin's History, folio edit. vol. i. p. 504; Famous and remarkable History of Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, written by T. H. Vulgaria, vol. iii. No. 12, Bibliothec. Pepysian. The Tatler observes, (No. 78), "That Alderman Whittington began the world with a cat, and died worth three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which he left to his only daughter three years after his mayoralty." And the author of A Tale of a Tub merrily observes upon the story of Whittington and his cat, "That it is the work of that mysterious Rabbi, Jehuda Hannafi, containing a defence of the Gemara of the Jerusalem Misna, and its just preference to that of Babylon, contrary to the vulgar opinion." Introduction, p. 49.

v. 629. *And learn'd the apocryphal bigots.*] Their bigotry against the Apocrypha was so remarkable, that even the most learned amongst them, when opportunity offered, had a sting at it; and, among the rest, the learned Dr. Lightfoot (then member of the Assembly of Divines), "Thus sweetly and nearly (says he) stand the two testaments joined together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha does thrust in between; like the two cherubims, betwixt the temple oracle, they would touch each other, the end of the law with the beginning of the gospel, did not this patchery of human inventions divorce them asunder." Lightfoot's Fast Sermon before the Commons, March 9, 1643, called Elias Redivivus, p. 5; Cent. of Eminent Presbyterian Preachers, p. 87. This prejudice of theirs is humorously bantered by Sir Roger L'Estrange, see Fable, entitled, A Wonderful Antipathy, 2d part, fab. 241. He tells us of a lady, that had undoubtedly been choaked with a piece of an apple-tart, if her next neighbour at the table had not dexterously got it out of her throat. — She was a tender-conscienced creature, and the tart, it seems, was bottomed with a piece of the Apocrypha; and her antipathy to that kind of trade would have been

Their tones and sanctify'd expreffions ;  
 Bestow'd their gifts upon a faint,  
 Like charity on thofe that want ;  
 And learn'd th' apocryphal bigots  
 630 T' infpire themfelves with fhort-hand notes ;

as much as her life was worth, if ſhe had not been feaſonably relieved.

v. 630. *T' infpire themfelves with fhort-hand notes.*]

“ And his way to get all this  
 Is mere diffimulation,  
 No factious lecture does he miſs,  
 And 'ſcapes no ſchiſm that's in faſhion ;  
 But, with fhort hair, and ſhining ſhoes,  
 He with two pens and note-book goes,  
 And winks, and writes at random ;  
 Then with fhort meal and tedious grace,  
 In a loud tone, and public place,  
 Sings Wiſdom's hymns, that trot and pace  
 As if Goliah ſcann'd 'um.”

The Reformation Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731,  
 vol. i. No. 65, ſtan. 7.

This practice is likewise bantered by the author of A Satire  
 againſt Hypocrites.

“ There Will writes fhort hand with a pen of brals ;  
 O, how he's wonder'd at by many an aſs !  
 That ſee him ſhake ſo faſt his warty fiſt,  
 As if he'd wrote the ſermon 'fore the prieſt  
 Has ſpoke it. ————— p. 5.  
 Stand up, good middle-iſle folks, and give room,  
 See where the mothers and the daughters come :  
 Behind, the ſervants looking all like martyrs,  
 With bibles, in pluſh jerkins, and blue garters ;  
 The ſilver inkhorn and the writing book,  
 In which I with no friend of mine to look ;  
 Left he be croſs'd, and bleſs'd with all the charms  
 That can procure him aid from conjurers harms.

Id. ibid. p. 8.

But they that did not mind the doleful paſſion,  
 Follow'd their buſineſs on another faſhion :  
 For all did write, the elders and the novice ;  
 Methought the church look'd like the fix clerks office.”

Ibid. p. 17.

v. 636.

For which they scorn and hate them worse,  
 Than dogs and cats do sow-gelders.  
 For who first bred them up to pray,  
 And teach the House of Commons' way;  
 635 Where had they all their gifted phrases,  
 But from our Calamies and Cases?  
 Without whose sprinkling and sowing,  
 Who e'er had heard of Nye or Owen?  
 Their dispensations had been stifled,  
 640 But for our Adoniram Byfield;

v. 636. *But from our Calamies and Cases.*] Calamy and Case were chief men among the Presbyterians, as Owen and Nye were amongst the Independents. (Dr. B.)

Sir John Birkenhead (see Paul's Church-yard, cent. iii. class x. § xxi.) makes it a query, "Whether Calamy and Case were not able to fire the Dutch armada with the breath of their nostrils, and the assistance of Oliver's burning-glass (his nose), from the top of Paul's steeple, and save the watermen the danger of a sea fight." See a further account, *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 3d vol. of the History of the Puritans*, p. 172, margin.

It is observed of Mr. Edward Calamy (in a tract, entitled, *The Arraignment of Persecution*, p. 16), "That he was a man newly metamorphosed, by a figure which rhetoricians call *Metonymia Beneficii*, from Episcopacy to Presbytery." And (in another, entitled, *A Looking-glass for Schismatics*, 1725, p. 88) "That when the bishops did bear rule, he was highly conformable in wearing the surplice and tippet, reading the service at the high altar, bowing at the name of Jesus, and so zealous an observer of times and seasons, that, being sick and weak on Christmas-day, with much difficulty he got into the pulpit, declaring himself there to this purpose: That he thought himself in conscience bound to preach that day, lest the stones of the streets should cry against him. And yet, upon a turn of the times, in a Fast Sermon upon Christmas-day, 1644, p. 41, he used the following words: "This year, God, by his providence, has buried this feast in a fast, and I hope it will never rise again."

v. 640. *But for our Adoniram Byfield.*] He was a broken apothecary, a zealous covenanter, one of the scribes to the Assembly of Divines; and, no doubt, for his great zeal and pains-taking in



And, had they not begun the war,  
 Th' had ne'er been fainted as they are :  
 For faints in peace degenerate,  
 And dwindle down to reprobate ;  
 645 Their zeal corrupts, like standing water,  
 In th' intervals of war and slaughter ;  
 Abates the sharpness of its edge,  
 Without the power of sacrilege :  
 And though they've tricks to cast their sins,  
 650 As easy as serpents do their skins,

his office, he had the profit of printing the Directory, the copy whereof was sold for 400l. though, when printed, the price was but three pence. It is queried by Sir John Birkenhead (Paul's Church-yard, cent. i. class iv. § xci.), "Whether the stationer, who gave 400l. for the Directory, was cursed with bell and candle, as well as book?" Overton (Arraignment of Persecution, p. 39) says, he gave 450l. for it.

This Byfield was father to the late celebrated Dr. Byfield, the fal-volatile doctor. Mr. Cleveland, in his Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyter, has the following lines upon him :

" If you meet any that do thus attire 'em,  
 Stop them, they are the tribe of Adoniram."

v. 648. *Without the power of sacrilege.*] It is an observation made by many writers upon the Assembly of Divines, That in their annotations upon the bible they cautiously avoid speaking upon the subject of sacrilege.

v. 650. *As easy as serpents do their skins.*] To this Virgil alludes, *Æneid* ii. 471, &c.

" Qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus," &c.

" So shines, renew'd in youth, the crested snake,  
 Who slept the winter in a thorny brake ;  
 And, casting off his skin when spring returns,  
 Now looks aloft, and with new glory burns."

Dryden.

And in another place, *Georgic*. lib. iii. 438, 439.

" Cum positis novus exuviis, nitidusque juvena  
 Volvitur."

That in a while grow out again,  
In peace they turn mere carnal men,  
And from the most refin'd of saints

Lucretius speaks to the same purpose *De Rerum Natura*, lib. iii. 613, 614.

“ Sed magis ire foras, vestemque relinquere, ut anguis  
Gauderet prælonga senex.”

“ As snakes, whene’er the circling year returns,  
Rejoice to cast their skins, or deer their horns.”

Creech.

And so does Mr. Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, book iv. canto iii. stan. 29, vol. iii. p. 582.

“ Like as a snake, when weary winter’s teen [sorrow]  
Hath worn to naught, now feeling summer’s might,  
Casts off his skin, and freshly doth him dight.” [dresses]

See Lord Bacon’s *Natural History*, cent. viii. p. 154; Shakespeare’s *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Works, vol. i. p. 99; Dr. Derham’s *Physico-Theology*, book ix. chap. i. p. 398, 7th edit.

v. 655. *As barnacles turn Soland geese.*] It is said, that, in the Orcaes of Scotland, there are trees which bear these barnacles, which, dropping into the water, become Soland geese.

To this opinion Du Bartas alludes, *Divine Weeks*, p. 228.

“ So slow Bootes underneath him fees,  
In th’ icy isles, those goslings hatch’d of trees;  
Whose fruitful leaves, falling into the water,  
Are turn’d, they say, to living fowls soon after:  
So rotten sides of broken ships do change  
To barnacles; O transformation strange!  
’Twas first a green tree, then a gallant hull;  
Lately a mushroom, then a flying gull.”

Dr. Turner, an Englishman, gave in to this opinion, as Wierus observes (*De Præfugiis Dæmon.* lib. iii. cap. 24); and, of later years, Sir Robert Moray, who, in his relation concerning Barnacles (*Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xi. No. cxxxvii. p. 925, 926), gives the following account: “ These shells hang at the tree by a neck longer than the shell: of a kind of filmy substance, round and hollow, and creased, not unlike the windpipe of a chicken; spreading out broadest where it is fastened to the tree, from which it seems to draw and convey the matter, which serves for the growth and vegetation of the shell, and the little bird within it.

“ This bird, in every shell that I opened, as well the least as  
“ the biggest, I found so curiously and completely formed, that  
“ there

As naturally grow miscreants,  
 655 As barnacles turn Soland geese  
 In th' islands of the Orcades.

" there appeared nothing wanting as to the external parts for making up a perfect sea fowl; every little part appearing so distinctly, that the whole looked like a large bird seen through a concave or diminishing glass, the colour and feature being every where so clear and neat. The little bill like that of a goose, the eyes marked, the head, neck, breast, and wings, tail and feet formed, the feathers every where perfectly shap-ed, and blackish coloured, and the feet like those of other water-fowl, to the best of my remembrance: all being dead and dry, I did not look after the inward parts of them; but having nipped off and broken a great many of them, I carried about twenty or twenty four away with me. The biggest I found upon the tree was about the size of the figure here representing them; nor did I ever see any of the little birds alive, nor meet with any body that did; only some credible persons assured me, they have seen some as big as their fist." See a further account of the Scottish barnacle, and the French macreuse of the duck kind, Philosophical Transactions, vol. xv. No. 172, p. 1036.

Mr. Cleveland, from this tradition, has raised a pungent satire against the Scots.

" ——— A volder for the nonce,  
 I wrong the devil, shou'd I pick their bones;  
 That dish is his, for, when the Scots decease,  
 Hell, like their nation, feeds on barnacles.  
 A Scot, when from the gallow tree got loose,  
 Drops into Styx, and turns a Soland goose."

My friend the Reverend Mr. William Smith of Bedford, observes, that it is a fact well known in all fens, that the wild geese and ducks forsake them in laying-time, going away to the uninhabited (or very little frequented) isles in Scotland, in order to propagate their several kinds with greater safety; their young ones as soon as hatched are naturally led by them into creeks and ponds, and this, he imagines, gave rise to the old vulgar error, that geese spring from barnacles. " I have formerly (says he) upon Ulls-water (which is seven miles long, one mile broad, and about twenty fathoms deep, and parts Westmoreland from Cumberland) seen many thousands of them together, with their new broods, in the month of October, in a calm and serene day, resting (as it were) in their travels to the  
 more

Their dispensation's but a ticket,  
 For their conforming to the wicked,  
 With whom the greatest difference  
 660 Lies more in words and shew than sense :  
 For as the Pope, that keeps the gate  
 Of heaven, wears three crowns of state ;  
 So he that keeps the gate of hell,  
 Proud Cerberus, wears three heads as well ;  
 665 And if the world has any troth,  
 Some have been canoniz'd in both.

more southern parts of Great Britain. And give me leave to add, that one Mr. Drummond, in a poem of his called *Polemo-Mid-dinia*, entitles the rocky island of Bass, *Bassa Solgosisfera* (p. 2, edit. 1691, Oxon. 4to.) Captain Tlezer, in his fine cuts of Scotland, exhibits an exceeding beautiful prospect of said island, with the wild fowl flying over, or swimming all around. I had almost forgot to tell you, that almost all the drakes stay behind in *Deping-Fen* in *Lincolnshire*."

John Major (an ancient Scotch historian, *De Reb. Gest. Scotor.* lib. i. fol. 10, edit. 1521) seems to confirm this in some respects : " *Hæ anates, aut hi anseres, in vere, turmatim a meridie ad rupem Bas quotannis veniunt, et rupem duobus vel tribus diebus circumvolitant : quo in tempore rupem inhabitantes nullum tumultum faciunt ; tunc nidificare incipiunt, et tota æstate manent, et piscibus vivunt.*"

See a further account, Bishop Gibson's *Camden*, vol. ii. col. 1184 ; Bishop Hall's *Meditations*, &c. 1615, p. 72 ; Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book iii. ch. 28.

v. 661, 662. *For as the Pope, that keeps the gate—Of heav'n.]* St. Peter is, by Popish writers, called *Janitor Ecclesiæ*. (Vide *Sanderi*, lib. de *Clave David*. cap. i. p. 10, edit. *Wiceburgi*, 1592 ; *Princip. Fidei Doctrinal. Demonstrat.* a Tho. Stapletono, cent. ii. lib. vi. cap. vi. p. 216, *Parisiis*, 1579.) Mr. Laurence Howell observes (*History of the Pontificate*, p. 17), " That an epistle ascribed to Pope Calixtus probably gave occasion to that idle fable of St. Peter's being the porter of heaven. For the author of it, exciting people to several Christian duties, promises them the reward of eternal glory by Jesus Christ, and that St. Peter should open to them the gates of glory. These (says he) are mere dreams



But that which does them greatest harm,  
 Their spiritual gizzards are too warm,  
 Which puts the over-heated fots  
 670 In fever still like other goats ;  
 For though the whore bends heretics,  
 With flames of fire, like crooked sticks,  
 Our schismatics so vastly differ,  
 Th' hotter th' are, they grow the stiffer ;  
 675 Still setting off their spiritual goods  
 With fierce and pertinacious feuds.

dreams of old women, to make St. Peter porter of heaven ; as if the gates of it were not committed to all the pastors of the church, with St. Peter." See the tale of Sextus Quintus, Sir Francis Bacon's Apotheegms, No. 110, Resuscitatio, p. 237.

" Funebre autem sacrum faciunt pro defunctis (Græci et Rutheni) quod ii suffragiis tolerabiliorum animabus locum impetrari sperant, ubi facilius extremum diem judicii expectare possunt : etiam cum aliquis magnæ autoritatis vir moritur ; tunc Metropolitanus, sive Episcopus epistolam ad Sanctum Petrum scribit, sigillo suo, et manus subscriptione munitam, quam super pectus defuncti ponit, dans testimonium de bonis piisque operibus ejus, utique in cælum facilius post diem judicii admitteretur, et Christianæ religionis Catholicæ agnoscat, subscribunt."

Rer. Muscovitar. Comment. a Sigismundo, &c. 1600, p. 174.

v. 663, 664. *So he that keeps the gate of hell,—Proud Cerberus, wears three heads as well.*]

" ——— Tenetque inhians tria Cerberus ora."

Virg. Georg. iv. 483.

To this fable Mr. Spenfer alludes, *Fairy Queen*, book i. canto v. ft. 34, vol. i. p. 83.

" Before the threshold dreadful Cerberus  
 His three deformed heads did lay along,  
 Curl'd with a thousand adders venomous,  
 And lolled forth his bloody, flaming tongue :  
 At them he 'gan to rear his bristles strong,  
 And felly gnare. ————"

v. 680.

For zeal's a dreadful termagant,  
 That teaches faints to tear and rant,  
 And Independents to profess  
 680 The doctrine of dependencies;  
 Turns meek and secret sneaking ones  
 To Raw-heads fierce and Bloody-bones;  
 And not content with endless quarrels  
 Against the wicked, and their morals,  
 685 The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs,  
 Divert their rage upon themselves.  
 For, now the war is not between  
 The brethren and the men of sin,  
 But faint and faint to spill the blood  
 690 Of one another's brotherhood,  
 Where neither side can lay pretence

v. 680. *The doctrine of dependencies.*] I have heard of an Independent teacher, who came to subscribe at the sessions, and being asked by the gentlemen on the bench of what sect he was? he told them that he was an Independent: Why an Independent? says one of the justices. I am called an Independent (says he) because I depend upon my bible.

v. 682. *To Raw-heads fierce, and Bloody-bones.*] The author of a Dialogue between Timothy and Philatheus (Introduction, p. 33), speaking of that barbarous custom among the Heathens of sacrificing their children: "It came to pass with some of them (says he), that they made nothing to bake and stew their children, without pepper and salt; and to invite such of their gods as they best liked to the entertainment. This gave rise to the natural apprehensions all our little ones have of raw heads and bloody bones. And, I must needs tell you, I should not have liked it myself; but should have took to my heels at the first sound of the stew-pan; and, besides that, have had a mortal aversion to minched meat ever after."

v. 685. *The Gibellines for want of Guelfs.*] Monteth of Salmonet (see his History of the Troubles of Great Britain, translated,

To liberty of conscience,  
 Or zealous suffering for the cause,  
 To gain one groat's worth of applause;  
 695 For, though endur'd with resolution,  
 'Twill ne'er amount to persecution:  
 Shall precious saints, and secret ones,  
 Break one another's outward bones,  
 And eat the flesh of bretheren,  
 700 Instead of kings and mighty men?  
 When fiends agree among themselves,  
 Shall they be found the greater elves?  
 When Bell's at union with the Dragon,  
 And Baal-Peor friends with Dagon;  
 705 When savage bears agree with bears,  
 Shall secret ones lug saints by th' ears,

2d edit. 1739, in folio, p. 23) compares the Covenanters and Anti-Covenanters to the Guelfs and Gibellines. These were two opposite factions in Italy, that engaged against each other, in the thirteenth century, one in behalf of the Emperor, and the other in behalf of the Pope.

Factiones Guelforum pro Pontifice, et Gibellinorum pro Cæsare in Italia oriuntur, 1245, Chronograph. Ecclesiæ Christianæ a Henrico Pantaleone, Basileæ, 1568, p. 99; Sledani Comment. lib. xiv. p. 294, edit. Francofurti ad Mænum. 1568; Naucleri Chronograph. vol. ii. p. 827; Notit. Romani Germanic. Imperii, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 205, &c.; Jo. Dubravii Olomuzensis Episcopi, Histor. Boiemic. lib. xv. p. 143; Whetstone's English Mirrour, 1586, lib. i. ch. ix. p. 65; Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe, 6th edit. p. 310, 643, 644, &c.

Dr. Heylin observes (Cosmography, edit. 1670, p. 130), "That some are of opinion, that the fiction of elves and goblins, whereby we used to fright young children, was derived from Guelfs and Gibbelines." Vide Skinneri Etymolog. Linguae Anglicanae, sub voce Goblins.

v. 705. *When savage bears agree with bears.*]

- And not atone their fatal wrath,  
 When common danger threatens both?  
 Shall mastiffs, by the collars pull'd,  
 710 Engag'd with bulls, let go their hold,  
 And faints, whose necks are pawn'd at stake,  
 No notice of the danger take?  
 But though no power of heaven or hell  
 Can pacify fanatic zeal,  
 715 Who would not guess there might be hopes,  
 The fear of gallowses and ropes,  
 Before their eyes, might reconcile  
 Their animosities a while,  
 At least until th' had a clear stage,  
 720 And equal freedom to engage,  
 Without the danger of surprize  
 By both our common enemies?  
 This none but we alone could doubt,  
 Who understand their workings-out,  
 725 And know 'em, both in soul and conscience,  
 Giv'n up t' as reprobate a nonsense

“ ————— Quando —————

*Indica tigris agit cum rabida tigride pacem  
 Perpetuam : Sævis inter se convenit urfis.*”

Juvenal, sat. xv. 163, 164.

“ Tiger with tiger, bear with bear you'll find  
 In leagues offensive and defensive join'd.”

Dryden.

“ Bears do agree with their own kind;  
 But he was of such a cruel mind,  
 He kill'd his brother cobbler before he had din'd.”

An Hymn to the Gentle Craft, or Hewson's Lamentation,  
 Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 54.



As spiritual outlaws, whom the power  
Of miracle can ne'er restore.

We, whom at first they set up under,

730 In revelation only of plunder,  
Who since have had so many trials  
Of their encroaching self-denials,  
That rook'd upon us with design  
To out-reform, and undermine ;

735 Took all our interests and commands  
Perfidiously out of our hands ;  
Involv'd us in the guilt of blood,  
Without the motive-gains allow'd,  
And made us serve as ministerial,

740 Like younger sons of father Belial.  
And yet for all th' inhuman wrong,  
Th' had done us, and the cause so long,  
We never fail'd to carry on  
The work still, as we had begun ;

745 But true and faithfully obey'd,  
And neither preach'd them hurt, nor pray'd ;

v. 733. *That rook'd upon us with design.*] These pretended saints at length, by their quarrels, fairly played the game into the hands of the Cavaliers; and I cannot but compare them to those wise-acres who found an oyster, and, to end the dispute, put it to a traveller passing by to determine which had the better right to it? "The arbitrator very gravely takes out his knife, and opens it, the plaintiff and defendant at the same time gaping at the man to see what would come on it. He loosens the fish, gulps it down, and, as soon as ever the morsel was gone the way of all flesh, wipes his mouth, and pronounces judgment. My masters (says he, with the voice of authority), the court has ordered each of you a shell without costs; and so pray go home again, and live peaceably among your neighbours." *L'Estrange's Fables*, part i. fab. 411.

Nor troubled them to crop our ears,  
 Nor hang us like the cavaliers ;  
 Nor put them to the charge of gaols,  
 750 To find us pillories and cart's-tails,  
 Or hangman's wages, which the state  
 Was forc'd (before them) to be at ;  
 That cut, like tallies to the stumps,  
 Our ears for keeping true accompts,  
 755 And burnt our vessels, like a new  
 Seal'd peck, or bushel, for being true ;  
 But hand in hand, like faithful brothers,  
 Held for the cause against all others,  
 Disdaining equally to yield  
 760 One syllable of what we held.

v. 751. *Or hangman's wages.*] Thirteen pence half-penny have usually been called hangman's wages.

" For half of thirteen pence half-penny wages,  
 I would have clear'd all the town cages,  
 And you should have been rid of all the fages.  
 I and my gallows groan."

The Hangman's last Will and Testament, Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 238. To this probably the author of a tract, entitled, The Marquis of Argyle's last Will and Testament, published 1661, p. 5, alludes, "*Item*, to all the old Presbyterian serpents, that have slipt their skins, and are winding themselves into favour in the a-la-mode cassock,—I bequeath to each a Scotch thirteen pence half-penny, for the use of Squire Dun (the hangman), who shall shew them slip for slip." Hugh Peters, in a tract entitled, A Word to the Army, and two Words to the Kingdom, 1647, prop. 19, advises, " That poor thieves may not be hanged for thirteen pence half-penny, but that a galley may be provided to row in the river or channel, to which they may be committed, or employed in draining lands, or banished."

I cannot really say, whence that sum was called hangman's wages, unless in allusion to the Halifax law, or the customary law of the forest of Hardwick, by which every felon, taken within  
the

And though we differ'd now and then  
 'Bout outward things, and outward men,  
 Our inward men, and constant frame  
 Of spirit, still were near the same.

765 And till they first began to cant,  
 And sprinkle down the covenant,  
 We ne'er had call in any place,  
 Nor dream'd of teaching down free grace;  
 But join'd our gifts perpetually

770 Against the common enemy.  
 Although 'twas ours and their opinion,  
 Each other's church was but a Rimmon;  
 And yet for all this gospel union,  
 And outward shew of church-communion,

the liberty or precincts of the said forest, with goods stolen to the value of thirteen pence half-penny, should, after three market days in the town of Halifax, after his apprehension and condemnation, be taken to a gibbet there, and have his head cut off from his body. See Mr. Wright's History of Halifax, 1738, p. 87.

To this John Taylor alludes, in his poem, entitled, *A very merry wherry ferry Voyage*, Works, p. 12.

“ At Halifax, the law so sharp doth deal,  
 That who so more than thirteen pence doth steal,  
 They have a gin, that, wondrous quick and well,  
 Sends thieves all headlong into heaven or hell.”

v. 765. *And till they first began to cant.*] From Mr. Andrew Cant, and his son Alexander, seditious preaching and praying in Scotland was called canting. *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 9, p. 1632, 1633, 1661; *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th vol. of the History of the Puritans*, p. 126.

v. 771, 772. *Although 'twas ours and their opinion,—Each other's church was but a Rimmon.*] See a remarkable instance in proof from Mr. Long's book, entitled, *No Protestant, but Dissenter's Plot*; *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th vol. of the History of the Puritans*, p. 217, &c.; and John Abell's Letter, *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 582.

- 775 They'd ne'er admit us to our shares  
 Of ruling church or state affairs ;  
 Nor give us leave t' absolve, or sentence  
 T' our own conditions of repentance ;  
 But shar'd our dividend o' the crown,  
 780 We had so painfully preach'd down ;  
 And forc'd us, though against the grain,  
 T' have calls to teach it up again :  
 For 'twas but justice to restore  
 The wrongs we had receiv'd before ;  
 785 And, when 'twas held forth in our way,  
 W' had been ungrateful not to pay :  
 Who, for the right w' have done the nation,  
 Have earn'd our temporal salvation,  
 And put our vessels in a way  
 790 Once more to come again in play.  
 For if the turning of us out  
 Has brought this providence about ;  
 And that our only suffering

v. 781, 782. *And forc'd us, though against the grain,—T' have calls to teach it up again.*] Alluding either to the Presbyterian plot 1651, to restore the King, called Love's Plot ; for which Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Case, Mr. Drake, Presbyterian ministers, with some of the laity, were seized and imprisoned ; see Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 705 ; and Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 337, 338 ; and for which Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons were beheaded on Tower-hill, 22d of August, according to the sentence of the High Court of Justice, Whitlock's Mem, 2d edit. p. 503—all the rest were pardoned, Whitlock, ibid. p. 511 : or to the attempt of the Scots to restore him, after he had taken the covenant, and been crowned at Scoon, Jan. 1, 1650 1.

Their behaviour towards him is notably girded, in the following lines :

“ Now



Is able to bring in the King :

795 What would our actions not have done,

Had we been suffer'd to go on?

And therefore may pretend t' a share,

At least in carrying on the affair.

But whether that be so, or not,

800 W' have done enough to have it thought;

And that's as good as if w' had done't,

And easier pass'd upon account:

For, if it be but half deny'd,

'Tis half as good as justify'd.

805 The world is nat'rally averse

To all the truth it sees or hears,

But swallows nonsense, and a lie,

With greediness and gluttony ;

And though it have the pique, and long,

810 'Tis still for something in the wrong ;

As women long, when they're with child,

For things extravagant and wild ;

“ Now for the King the zealous kirk

'Gainst the Independent bleats,

When as, alas! their only work

Is to renew old cheats :

If they can fit, vote what they list,

And crush the new states down ;

Then up go they, but neither Christ

Nor King shall have his own.”

Sir John Birkenhead revived, p 20.

v. 809. *And though it have the pique, and long.*] The *pica* is a depraved and longing appetite of women with child, or girls in the green sickness. See *Pica* and *Citta*, Blanchard's Physical Dictionary.

v. 811, 812. *As women long when they're with child,—For things extravagant and wild.*] Dr. Daniel Turner, in his book,

For meats ridiculous and fulsome,  
 But feldom any thing that's wholesome ;  
 815 And, like the world, men's jobbernoles,  
 Turn round upon their ears, the poles :  
 And what they're confidently told,  
 By no fenfe elfe can be control'd.

And this, perhaps, may prove the means  
 820 Once more to hedge in providence.  
 For as relapses make difeases  
 More desp'rate than their first accesses :

De Morbis Cutaneis, cap. xii. has given some very remakable instances of this kind : and, among the rest, one from Langius, (upon the credit of that author) of a woman longing to bite the naked shoulder of a baker passing by her ; which rather than she should lose, the good-natured husband hires the baker, at a certain price : accordingly, when the big-bellied woman had taken two morsels, the poor man, unable to hold out a third, would not suffer her to bite again : for want of which she bore (as the story goes) one dead child, with two living.

Wolfius (Lection. Memorab. par. ii. p. 916) gives the following more remarkable (but barbarous) account, in the year 1580. " Isthuc ætatis Bretteburgi mulier gravida, desiderio sui mariti capta, ac accensa edendi, cum noctu jugulavit. Et mortui sic brachium ac latus sinistrum cingulo tenus devoravit. Reliqua sale condita reposuit : volens et illa comedere. Interea vero tres peperit filios, et perpetuo clauditur carcere." Imp. Rad. II. Pap. Greg. XIII. See Sir Kenelm Digby's Discourse concerning the Powder of Sympathy. The merriest kind of longing was that mentioned by Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, act i. sc. vi. of the lady who longed to spit in the great lawyer's mouth after an eloquent pleading. These unreasonable longings are exposed, Spectator, No. 326 ; and the privileges allowed the big-bellied women, that longed in Spain, are mentioned, Lady's Travels into Spain, part ii. letter ix. p. 153.

v. 815. *And like the world, mens jobbernoles.*] Vid. Skinneri Lexic. Etymologic. and Rabelais's Works, passim.

v. 819, 820. *And this, perhaps, may prove the means—Once more to hedge in providence.*] A remarkable instance of this we find in a Book of Psalms, fitted, as the title page says, for the ready use of all good Christians ; printed by an order of the committee

If we but get again in power,  
 Our work is easier than before ;  
 825 And we more ready and expert  
 I' th' mystery, to do our part.  
 We, who did rather undertake  
 The first war to create, than make ;  
 And, when of nothing 'twas begun,  
 830 Rais'd funds, as strange, to carry't on ;  
 Trepann'd the state, and fac'd it down,  
 With plots and projects of our own :

mittee of Commons for printing, April 2, 1644, signed John White, P. xciv. 7, p. 193.

" The Lord yet shall not see, they say,  
 Nor Jacob's God shall note."

There is a marginal explanation of Jacob's God—the God of the Puritans. Miserable Cavaliers indeed ! if they were neither to have a king left them on earth, nor a God in heaven, (Mr. S. W.)

v. 830. *Rais'd funds, as strange, to carry't on.*] See an account of their remarkable funds, Walker's History of Independency, part i. p. 7, &c.; Impartial examination of Mr. Neal's 3d vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 41, to 47, inclusive. Mr. Walker observes, History of Independency, part ii. 253, " That there was an excise upon all that was eat, drank, or worn." See a farther account of their unreasonable taxes, History of Independency, part iii. p. 7; and in a tract, entitled, London's Account, or a calculation of the arbitrary and tyrannical exactions, taxations, impositions, excises, contributions, subsidies, twentieth parts, and other assessments within the lines of communication, during the four years of this unnatural war, imprinted in the year 1647, thus calculated, p. 11, " That the annual revenue, they say, is eleven hundred thousand pounds a year; but I place (says he) but one million." The taxes, &c. raised by the rebels, 4,378,100l. which for the four years is 17,512,400l. See Loyal Convert, Oxford, 1644, p. 13.

v. 831, 832. *Trepann'd the state, and fac'd it down,—With plots and projects of our own.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange calls it the old cheat of creating new plots, Apology, p. 57. It was their constant

And, if we did such feats at first,  
 What can we now we're better vers'd?  
 835 Who have a freer latitude,  
 Than sinners give themselves, allow'd:  
 And therefore likeliest to bring in,  
 On fairest terms, our discipline,  
 To which it was reveal'd long since  
 840 We were ordain'd by providence;  
 When three saints eers, our predecessors,  
 The cause's primitive confessors,  
 Being crucify'd, the nation stood  
 In just so many years of blood,  
 845 That, multiply'd by six, exprest'd  
 The perfect number of the beast,  
 And prov'd that we must be the men,  
 To bring this work about again;  
 And those who laid the first foundation,  
 850 Complete the thorough reformation:

stant practice, when they had any remarkable point to carry, to pretend there was a plot on foot to subvert the constitution. See Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 208, 209, 210; Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 2d vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 255. Mr. Walker observes of them (History of Independency, part i. p. 77), "That, from the beginning, they made lies their refuge." And elsewhere (ibid p. 147), "That they forged conspiracies and false news, to carry on their base designs." "Their greatest master-piece (says the writer of a tract, entitled, The true Informer, 1643, p. 9) is to forge counterfeit news, and to divulge and disperse it as far as they can, to amuse the world, for the advancement of their designs, and strengthening their party." See an account of one of their sham plots, Second Part of the History of Independency, p. 67; of a sham plot in Dorsetshire smelt out by Oliver and his blood-hounds, id. ib. p. 229;



- For who have gifts to carry on  
 So great a work but we alone?  
 What churches have such able pastors,  
 And precious, powerful, preaching masters?
- 855 Possess'd with absolute dominions  
 O'er brethren's purses and opinions?  
 And trusted with the double keys  
 Of heav'n and their ware-houses;  
 Who, when the cause is in distress,
- 860 Can furnish out what sums they please,  
 That brooding lie in bankers hands  
 To be dispos'd at their commands,  
 And daily increase and multiply,  
 With doctrine, use, and usury:
- 865 Can fetch in parties (as, in war,  
 All other heads of cattle are,)  
 From th' enemy of all religions,  
 As well as high and low conditions,

p. 229; variety of instances, in a tract, entitled, *Persecutio Undecima*, reprinted in folio 1681, p. 33; Mr. Symmons's *Vindication of King Charles I.* 8vo. p. 253; Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 205; Presbyterian Prejudice displayed, in answer to Mr. Benjamin Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation, 1722, p. 58.

v. 841. *When three saints ears, &c.*] \* Burton, Pryn, and Bastwick, three notorious ringleaders of the factions, just at the beginning of the late horrid rebellion.

v. 853, 854. *What churches have such able pastors,—And precious, powerful, preaching masters?*] What sort of preachers these were may be judged from their sermons, before the two houses at Westminster, from the breaking out of the rebellion, to the murder of the King. Extracts from them in a tract, entitled, *A Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers*, and Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Dissenters Sayings*, in two parts. As to their learning

And share them from blue ribbands down  
 870 To all blue aprons in the town :  
 From ladies hurried in calleches,  
 With cornets at their footmen's breeches,  
 To bawds as fat as Mother Nab ;  
 All guts and belly, like a crab.  
 875 Our party's great, and better ty'd  
 With oaths, and trade, than any fide ;  
 Has one considerable improvement,

and casuistry, the reader may find some curious specimens in the first edition of the Assembly's Annotations upon the Bible, published in folio 1645. Their note on Jacob's kids, Gen. xvii. 9. *Two good kids.*] "Two kids (say they) seem too much for one dish of meat for an old man; but, out of both, they might take the choicest parts to make it dainty; and the juice of the rest might serve for sauce, or for the rest of the family, which was not small."

And they observe upon Herod's cruelty, Matt. ii. 16,

*Sent forth.*] "Soldiers to kill the children without any legal trial."

v. 869, 870. *And share them, from blue ribbands down—To all blue aprons in the town.*] Alluding to the many preachers in blue aprons in those times: This secret we learn from the following passages in Cleveland: In the first of these he represents a fanatic within Christ-church, Oxford, disliking every thing there, before it was reformed by plunder and sequestration:

" ——— Shaking his head  
 To see no ruins from the floor to th' lead;  
 To whose pure nose our cedar gave offence,  
 Crying it smelt of Papists franckincense:  
 Counting our tapers works of darkness, and  
 Chusing to see priests in blue aprons stand,  
 Rather than with copes." ———

In the other passage, the scene is of himself, in a very different place:

" And first, to tell you, must not be forgot,  
 ——— How I did trot,

With

To double fortify the cov'nant :

I mean our covenant, to purchase

880 Delinquents titles, and the churches :

That pass in sale, from hand to hand,

Among ourselves, for current land :

And rise and fall like Indian actions,

According to the rate of factions.

885 Our best reserve for reformation,

When new out-goings give occasion,

With a great zealot to a lecture;

Where I a tub did view

Hung with an apron blue,

'Twas the preacher's I conjecture :

His use and doctrine too

Was of no better hue,

Though he spake in a tone most mickle."

Loyal Songs, vol. i. p. 132.

From hence we may illustrate our poet's meaning, couched in that part of the character of his hero's religion—'Twas Presbyterian true blue, Part I. Canto i. v. 191. (Mr. B.)

" This makes our blue lecturers pray, preach, and prate,  
Without reason or sense, against church, king, or state,  
To shew the thin lining of his twice cover'd pate."

The Power of Money, Loyal Songs, &c. vol. i. p. 62.

See an account of the Blue-apron Committee at Reading, Mercurius Rusticus, No. 4, p. 44.

v. 873, 874. *To bawds as fat as mother Nab,—All guts and belly, like a crab* ] Alluding probably to some noted strumpet in those times. Gayton (Notes upon Don Quixote, book iii. chap. ii. p. 72) thus describes Maritornes: " She was a sow of the largest breed, she was an elephant in head and ears; her belly of a capacity for a cellar, two stands of ale might find room therein, and a century of spickets." See Ben Jonson's Urfula, Bartholomew Fair, passim. and Sir Fopling Flutter's description of the orange wench, whom he salutes with the pretty phrase of Double-tripe, Spect. No. 65; Dromio's account of Nell the kitchen-wench, Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors; and Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, sc. xxiv. p. 480, &c.

v. 883. *And rise or fall, like Indian actions.*] Alluding probably to the subscription set on foot at the general court at the East-India

That keeps the loins of brethren girt,  
 The covenant (their creed) t' assert;  
 And, when th' have pack'd a parliament,  
 890 Will once more try th' expedient;  
 Who can already muster friends,  
 To serve for members to our ends.  
 That represent no part o' th' nation,  
 But Fisher's-Folly congregation;  
 895 Are only tools to our intrigues,  
 And fit like geese to hatch our eggs,  
 Who, by their presidents of wit,  
 T' out-fast, out-loiter, and out-fit,

India house, October 19, 1657, Mercurius Politicus, No. 387, p. 56, &c.

v. 888. *The covenant (their creed) t' assert.*] The author of *Lex Talionis*, printed in the year 1647, p. 3, Pub. Lib. Cambr. xix. 9, 3, takes the following freedom with the covenant: "Give me leave to tell you what your covenant was at first, and what it is now: It was first, by virtue of enchantment, a lousy threadbare Scots chaplain, who, growing weary of the slender stipend of a bare Scots mark per annum, came over into England to seek its farther advancement, where it became a tub preacher, and so, rendering itself capable of holy orders, did take upon it to teach and preach upon its own accord.

"The first attempt by which this covenant sought to ingratiate itself into the people was by consummating a marriage betwixt the committees: The match was privately contracted in the close committee, and afterwards solemnly published by legislative power, which marriage being thus accomplished, without the approbation of his Majesty, without the licence of our church, and without consent of our laws, I doubt not but it may be made null by a bill of divorce. And, for the farther punishment of your covenant, let it be banished out of this kingdom for ever, and let it be confined to the utmost part of Scotland, there to pine and waste itself away upon its own dunghill."

v. 894.



Can order matters under-hand,  
 900 To put all business to a stand :  
 Lay public bills aside, for private,  
 And make 'em one another drive out ;  
 Divert the great and necessary,  
 With trifles to contest and vary ;  
 905 And make the nation represent,  
 And serve for us, in parliament ;  
 Cut out more work than can be done  
 In Plato's year, but finish none,  
 Unless it be the bulls of Lenthal,  
 910 That always pass'd for fundamental ;

v. 894. *But Fisher's-Folly congregation.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (Key to Hudibras) observes, that a meeting-house was built by one Fisher, a shoemaker, which, at the Restoration, was pulled down by some of the loyalists ; and then, lying useless, it was called Fisher's-Folly. But he is mistaken : for Dr. Fuller (Worthies, 1662, p. 197), explaining some London proverbs, among the rest, has the two following lines,

“ Kirby's castle, and Megge's glory,  
 Spinola's pleasure, and Fisher's folly ;”

and observes (from Stow's Survey, p. 175), “ that the last was built by Jasper Fisher, free of the goldsmiths company, one of the six clerks in chancery, and a justice of the peace, who being a man of no great wealth (as indebted to many) built here a beautiful house, with gardens of pleasure, and bowling alleys about it, called Devonshire House at this day.”

v. 898. *To out-fast.*] Dr. South observes (Sermons, vol. iv. p. 175), “ That their fasts usually lasted from seven in the morning till seven at night ; that the pulpit was always the emptiest thing in the church ; and there was never such a fast kept by them but their hearers had cause to begin a thanksgiving as soon as they had done.”

v. 907. *Cut out more work, &c.*] \* Plato's year, or the grand revolution of the entire machine of the world, was accounted 4000 years.

v. 909. *The bulls of Lenthal.*] Mr. Lenthal was Speaker to that House

- Can set up grandee against grandee,  
 To squander time away and bandy;  
 Make lords and commoners lay sieges  
 To one another's privileges :
- 915 And, rather than compound the quarrel,  
 Engage, to th' inevitable peril  
 Of both their ruins, th' only scope  
 And consolation of our hope ;  
 Who, though we do not play the game,
- 920 Assist as much by giving aim.  
 Can introduce our ancient arts,  
 For heads of factions, t' act their parts ;  
 Know what a leading voice is worth,  
 A seconding, a third, or fourth ;
- 925 How much a casting voice comes to,  
 That turns up trump, of Ay or No ;  
 And, by adjusting all at th' end,  
 Share every one his dividend.

House of Commons which began the rebellion, murdered the King, becoming then but the rump or sag-end of a house, and was turned out by Oliver Cromwell, restored after Richard was outed, and at last dissolved themselves at General Monk's command ; and, as his name was set to the ordinances of this house, these ordinances are here called the bulls of Lenthal, in allusion to the Pope's bulls, which are humorously described by the author of a Tale of a Tub, p. 99.

v. 923. *Know what a leading voice is worth, &c.*] Ben Jonson merrily observes (Discoveries, edit. 1640, p. 95), "That suffrages in parliament are numbered, not weighed: Nor can it be otherwise in those public councils where nothing is so unequal as the inequality; for there, how odd soever mens brains or wisdom are, their power is always even and the same."

An art that so much study cost,  
 930 And now's in danger to be lost,  
 Unless our ancient virtuosos,  
 That found it out, get into th' houses.  
 These are the courses that we took  
 To carry things by hook or crook ;  
 935 And practis'd down from forty-four,  
 Until they turn'd us out of door :  
 Besides the herds of boutefues,  
 We set on work, without the house ;  
 When every knight and citizen,  
 940 Kept legislative journeymen,  
 To bring them in intelligence,  
 From all points of the rabble's sense ;  
 And fill the lobbies of both houses  
 With politic important buzzes :  
 945 Set up committees of cabals  
 To pack designs without the walls ;

v. 932. ————— *get into th' houses.*] Alluding to the secluded members, who endeavoured to get into the house when Richard Cromwell was set aside, and the Rump restored, 1659. See Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 842 ; Sir Gilbert Gerard, on this occasion, brought an action against Colonel Alured, for denying him admission. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 841.

v. 934. ————— *by hook or crook.*] Judge Crook and Hutton were the two judges who dissented from their ten brethren in the case of ship-money, when it was argued in the Exchequer (see Echard, vol. ii. p. 128), which occasioned the wags to say, that the King carried it by Hook, but not by Crook. See Sancho's way of explaining this expression, Don Quixote, vol. iv. chap. lxxiii. p. 718.

v. 945. *Set up committees of cabals.*] A sneer probably upon Clifford, Athley, Burlington, Arlington, Lauderdale, who were called

- Examine, and draw up all news,  
 And fit it to our present use ;  
 Agree upon the plot o' the farce,  
 950 And every one his part rehearse,  
 Make Q's of answers, to way-lay  
 What th' other parties like to say :  
 What repartees, and smart reflections,  
 Shall be return'd to all objections :  
 955 And who shall break the master-jest,  
 And what, and how, upon the rest :  
 Help pamphlets out, with safe editions,  
 Of proper flanders and seditions :  
 And treason for a token send,  
 960 By letter to a country friend ;  
 Disperse lampoons, the only wit  
 That men, like burglary, commit ;  
 With falser than a padder's face,  
 That all its owner does betrays,  
 965 Who therefore dares not trust it, when  
 He's in his calling to be seen :

called the C A B A L in King Charles II.'s time, from the initial letters of their names. See Echard, vol. iii. p. 251.

v. 961, 962. *Disperse lampoons, the only wit—That men, like burglary, commit.*] Lampoon, in French, signifies a drunken song : and to lampoon one is to treat him with ridicule in a libel or satire, which is compared here to burglary, as being published clandestinely, and without a name.

v. 969, 970. *Be sure to keep up congregations,—In spite of laws and proclamations.*] See an account of the King's proclamations against keeping up conventicles in the years 1668, 1669, Echard's History of England, vol. iii. p. 224, 238; and their manner of eluding them, George Fox's Journal, p. 314.

v. 971.



Disperse the dung on barren earth,  
 To bring new weeds of discord forth;  
 Be sure to keep up congregations,  
 970 In spite of laws and proclamations :  
 For charlatans can do no good,  
 Until they're mounted in a crowd ;  
 And, when they're punish'd, all the hurt  
 Is but to fare the better for't ;  
 975 As long as confessors are sure  
 Of double pay for all th' endure ;  
 And what they earn in persecution,  
 Are paid t' a groat in contribution.  
 Whence some tub-holders-forth have made  
 980 In powd'ring-tubs their richest trade ;  
 And, while they kept their shops in prison,  
 Have found their prices strangely risen :  
 Disdain to own the least regret,  
 For all the Christian blood w' have let ;  
 985 'Twill save our credit, and maintain  
 Our title to do so again ;

v. 971. *For charlatans can do no good.*] Charlatan is an empyric or quack, who retails his medicines on a public stage. Tom Coryat observes (Crudities, p. 274), that ciarlatanoes, or ciarlatans, in Latin are called Circulatores, and Agyrtæ, from the Greek word ὀρχήστειν, which signifies to draw company together, for which Venice was very famous. See more, Pancirolli de Reb. Memorab. par. post. tit. i. p. 50 ; Chambers's Cyclopædia.

v. 995, 996. *Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long—Before from world to world they swung.*] Dr. South remarks upon the Regicides (Sermon on the 29th of May, vol. v. p. 275), "That so sure did they make of heaven, and so fully reckoned themselves in the high road thither, that they never so much as thought that their faintships should take Tyburn in the way."

That needs not cost one dram of sense,  
 But pertinacious impudence.  
 Our constancy t' our principles,  
 990 In time will wear out all things else ;  
 Like marble statues, rubb'd in pieces,  
 With gallantry of pilgrims kisses :  
 While those who turn and wind their oaths,  
 Have swell'd and sunk, like other froths ;  
 995 Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long  
 Before from world to world they swung :  
 As they had turn'd from side to side,  
 And, as the changelings liv'd, they dy'd.

This said, th' impatient states-monger  
 1000 Could now contain himself no longer ;  
 Who had not spar'd to shew his piques,  
 Against th' haranguer's politics,  
 With smart remarks, of leering faces,  
 And annotations of grimaces,

v. 1004. *Grimashtes*, first edit. 1674, altered 1684.

v. 1005, 1006. *After li' had administer'd a dose—Of snuff mundungus to his nose.*] From hence it is plain how long that foolish and pernicious custom of snuff-taking has prevailed here in England; which is merrily exposed by Dr. Baynard, History of Cold Baths, part ii. p. 198. “ And now (says he) another nasty snuffling invention is lately set on foot, which is snuff-taking; which hangs on their nostrils, &c. as if it were the excrements of maggots tumbled from the head through the nose. I have read, I think it is in Sir John Chardin's travels, that there is a kingdom in the East Indies, called Botan, where the subjects hold the prince in such esteem and reverence, that they dry and powder his excrements, and use it as a great rarity to strew on meats, and garnish dishes with, as we do ours with grated bread, nutmeg, &c. And, I vow, I never see a snuff-box in a man's hand, but I think of a Botanian, &c.” Montaigne observes (*Essays*, vol. i. ch. xxii. p. 135),

1005 After he had administer'd a dose  
 Of snuff mundungus to his nose,  
 And powder'd th' inside of his skull,  
 Instead of the outward jobbernol,  
 He shook it with a scornful look  
 1010 On th' adversary, and thus he spoke :  
     In dressing a calf's head, although  
     The tongue and brains together go,  
     Both keep so great a distance here,  
     'Tis strange, if ever they come near ;  
 1015 For who did ever play his gambols  
     With such insufferable rambles ?  
     To make the bringing in the King,  
     And keeping of him out, one thing ?  
     Which none could do, but those that swore  
 1020 T' as point-blank nonsense heretofore ;  
     That to defend was to invade,  
     And to assassinate, to aid :

p. 135), " That there is a nation (alluding probably to Botan) where the most eminent persons about the King stoop to take up his ordure in a linen cloth."

Misson (New Voyages to Italy, vol. ii. p. 12) takes notice of an order of the Pope's, that no one should take snuff at church, with the reason why. The Tatler (No. 35) gives this philosophical reason for taking snuff: " That it is done only to supply, with sensation, the want of reflection." See the practice exposed, Spectator, No. 344. The Spaniards think more favourably of the practice, and present snuff as a token of friendship. Lady's Travels into Spain, part iii. p. 269.

v. 1007. *And powder'd th' inside of his soul.*] In the first edition of 1678; altered to *skull*, 1684, four years after Mr. Butler's death.

v. 1008. ——— *outward jobbernol.*] The same with great-head, jolter-head, logger head. See *jobbernol* and *nowl*, Skinneri Etymologicon, Junii Etymolog. Anglican. *Nowl*, a word often used by the translator of Rabelais.

v. 1021, 1022. *That to defend was to invade,—And to assassinate,*

- Unless, because you drove him out,  
 (And that was never made a doubt)
- 1025 No power is able to restore  
 And bring him in, but on your score.  
 A spiritual doctrine, that conduces  
 Most properly to all your uses.  
 'Tis true, a scorpion's oil is said
- 1030 To cure the wounds the vermin made;  
 And weapons dress'd with salves restore  
 And heal the hurts they gave before:  
 But whether Presbyterians have  
 So much good nature as the salve,
- 1035 Or virtue in them as the vermin,  
 Those who have try'd them can determine.

*to aid.*] This is a sneer upon Serjeant Wild, who was sent to Winchester to try Rolf, against whom Osborne and Doucet swore positively to his design of assassinating the King. The Serjeant being bribed to favour and bring him off, observed upon their evidence to the jury, "That it was a business of great importance that was before them; and that they should take heed what they did in it: that there was a time indeed when intentions and words were made treason (words were made treason without acts, 1649, History of Independency, part iii. p. 46), but God forbid it should be so now. How did any body know, but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet, would have made away the King, and that Rolf charged his pistol to preserve him?" Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 180. See Walker's History of Independency, part i. p. 76. This Rolf was a shoemaker, or one of the gentle craft. History of Independency, part i. p. 120.

v. 1029, 1030. ———— *a scorpion's oil is said—To cure the wounds the vermin made.*] This is mentioned as a thing certain by Sir Kenelm Digby (Discourse concerning the Cure of Wounds by Sympathy), and by Mousset, "Medentur enim formicæ, ut scorpiones suis moribus, et cum malo medelam pariter afferunt." Infectorum Theatr. lib. ii. cap. xvi. p. 246. Oleum Scorpionum, S. Bernardi oleum vocatur—"Pectini inunctum valet contra morsus quoscunque



Indeed, 'tis pity you should miss

Th' arrears of all your services,

And, for th' eternal obligation

1040 Y' have laid upon the ungrateful nation,

Be us'd s' unconscionably hard,

As not to find a just reward,

For letting rapine loose, and murther,

To rage just so far, but no further :

1045 And setting all the land on fire,

To burn t' a scantling, but no higher :

For venturing to assassinate

And cut the throats of church and state :

And not be allow'd the fittest men

1050 To take the charge of both again :

quoscunque venenatos." *Insector. Theatr. lib. ii. cap. x. p. 209.* See *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxxix. No. 443, p. 318; Dr. Mead's *Mechanical Operation of Poisons*. It was observed of Athenagoras, a Grecian, that he never felt pain from the bite of the scorpion, nor the sting of the spider. *Sexti Philosophi Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. lib. i. p. 17.*

v. 1031, 1032. *And weapons dress'd with salves restore,—And heal the hurts they gave before.*] Here again he sneers the weapon-salve: For the manner of applying it, see Sir Kenelm Digby's *Discourse of the Cure of Wounds by Sympathy*, p. 148; Mr. George Sandys's *Notes upon Ovid's Metamorphosis*, book xii. p. 230; from the receipt in Grollius's *Dispensatory*, taken from Paracelsus; Fludd's *Defence of the Weapon-salve*, passim; Shakespeare's *Tempest*, republished by Mr. Dryden, act v. sc. ii.

v. 1045, 1046. *And setting all the land on fire,—To burn to a scantling, but no higher.*] Mention is made of an humorous countryman, who bought a barn in partnership with a neighbour of his, and not making use of his part, when his neighbour filled his with corn and hay, his neighbour expostulating with him upon laying out his money so fruitlessly: "Pray, neighbour, says he, never trouble your head: You may do what you will with your part of the barn; but I'll set mine on fire."

Especially, that have the grace  
 Of self-denying gifted face ;  
 Who, when your projects have miscarry'd,  
 Can lay them, with undaunted forehead,  
 1055 On those you painfully trepann'd,  
 And sprinkled in at second hand ;  
 As we have been, to share the guilt  
 Of Christian blood devoutly spilt :  
 For so our ignorance was flamm'd,  
 1060 To damn ourselves, to avoid being damn'd :  
 Till finding your old foe, the hangman,  
 Was like to lurch you at back-gammon,  
 And win your necks upon the set,  
 As well as ours, who did but bet ;  
 1065 (For he had drawn your ears before,  
 And nick'd them on the self-same score)  
 We threw the box and dice away,  
 Before y' had lost us, at foul play ;  
 And brought you down to rook, and lie,  
 1070 And fancy only, on the bye ;  
 Redeem'd your forfeit jobbernoles,

v. 1053, 1054, 1055. *Who, when your projects have miscarried,—Can lay them, with undaunted forehead,—On those you painfully trepann'd.*] Mr. Walker charges the Independent faction (Second Part of the History of Independency, p. 42), “ That by an impudent fallacy, called translatio criminis, they laid their brats at other mens doors.”

v. 1056. *And sprinkled in at second hand.*] Alluding to their manner of baptizing, or admitting members into their churches, in opposition to the practice of the Anabaptists.

From perching upon lofty poles ;  
 And rescu'd all your outward traitors  
 From hanging up, like aligators :

1075 For which ingeniously y' have shew'd  
 Your Presbyterian gratitude :  
 Would freely have paid us home in kind,  
 And not have been one rope behind.  
 Those were your motives to divide,

1080 And scruple, on the other side,  
 To turn your zealous frauds and force  
 To fits of conscience, and remorse,  
 To be convinc'd they were in vain,  
 And face about for new again :

1085 For truth no more unveil'd your eyes,  
 Than maggots are convinc'd to flies :  
 And therefore all your lights and calls  
 Are but apocryphal and false,  
 To charge us with the consequences  
 1090 Of all your native insolences ;  
 That to your own imperious wills,  
 Laid law and gospel neck and heels :

At Watlington, in Oxfordshire, there was a sect call'd Anointers, from their anointing people before they admitted them into their communion. Dr. Plot's Oxfordshire, chap. xxxviii. § xxvii.

v. 1065. *For he had drawn your ears before,—And nick'd them on the self-same score.*] Alluding to the case of Mr. Pryn, who had his ears cropped twice for his seditious writings.

v. 1074. *From hanging up, like aligators.*] Aligators are of the crocodile kind, and are frequently hung up in the shops of druggists and apothecaries.

v. 1086. *Than maggots are convinc'd to flies.*] Thus it stands in all editions to 1710 exclusive, and then altered, *Than maggots when they turn to flies.*

Corrupted the Old Testament,  
 To serve the New for precedent :  
 1095 T' amend its errors and defects,  
 With murther, and rebellion-texts ;  
 Of which there is not any one  
 In all the book to sow upon ;  
 And therefore (from your tribe) the Jews  
 1100 Held Christian doctrine forth, and use ;  
 As Mahomet (your chief) began  
 To mix them in the Alchoran :

v. 1093. *Corrupted the Old Testament.*] This was done by a fanatical printer, in the seventh commandment, who printed it, "Thou shalt commit adultery," and was fined for it in the star-chamber, or high commission court. See Archbishop Laud's Trial and Troubles, and Spectator.

v. 1101, 1102. *As Mahomet (your chief) began—To mix them in the Alchoran.*] Mahomet was so ignorant, that he could neither write nor read; yet in drawing up the Khoran, commonly called the Alchoran, though he was born and bred a Pagan, "he associated to himself a learned Jew born in Persia, a Rabbin in his sect, whom Elmacin called by the name of Salman (Dr. Prideaux, Abdallah Elm Salem); but the greatest assistance he received was by a Nestorian monk, called by the western historians Sergius, and by the eastern Bahira, an apostate, who had been expelled his monastery for his disorderly life: Such were the architects whom Mahomet employed, for the erecting the new system which he projected: The Jew furnished him with various histories from the Old Testament, blended with the chimeras and dreams of the Talmud, out of which Mahomet, in order to heighten the marvellous, picked out some fabulous circumstances of his own inventing, which are still to be seen in the Alchoran: And the Nestorian monk at the same time brought him acquainted with the New Testament, and the discipline of the church. All this he changed and corrupted with fables, which he borrowed from the pseudo gospels and apocryphal books; and it is manifest, that he was not unacquainted with the history of the infancy of Jesus, and the family of the Virgin Mary." Abbe Vertot's Discourse of the Alchoran: History of the Knights of Malta, in folio, edit. 1748, p. 43, &c. See more, Carionis Chronic. de Alchorano, lib.



Denounc'd and pray'd with fierce devotion,  
 And bended elbows on the cushion ;  
 1105 Stole from the beggars all your tones,  
 And gifted mortifying groans ;  
 Had lights where better eyes were blind,  
 As pigs are said to see the wind :  
 Fill'd Bedlam with predestination,  
 1110 And Knightsbridge with illumination :  
 Made children, with your tones, to run for't,  
 As bad as Bloody-Bones, or Lunsford ;

lib. iii. p. 277, edit. folio, 1580 ; Baumgarten's Travels, Churchill's Voyages, &c. vol i. p. 431, edit. 1732 ; Walker's History of Independency, part i. p. 27. Mahmut the Turkish Spy defends it, vol. vii. book iv. letter vi.

“ Come, Mahomet, thy turn is next,  
 New gospel's out of date ;  
 The Alchoran may prove good text  
 In our new Turkish state ;  
 Thou dost unto thy priests allow  
 The sin of full four wives,  
 Ours scarce will be content with now  
 Five livings, and nine lives.  
 Thy saints and ours are all alike,  
 Their virtues flow from vice :  
 No blifs they do believe and seek  
 But an earthly paradise.  
 A heaven on earth they hope to gain,  
 But we do know full well,  
 Could they their glorious ends attain,  
 This kingdom must be hell.”

Mercurius Pragmaticus, No. 2, April 11, 1648.

v. 1108. *As pigs are said to see the wind.*] See Hudibras at Court, Posthumous Works, p. 213.

v. 1109 *Fill'd Bedlam with predestination* ] Alluding to Oliver's porter. See Lesley's Snake in the Grass ; L'Estrange's Reflexion upon the Fable of the Bat, Bramble, and Cormorant, part i. fab. 144.

v. 1112. ————— *or Lunsford.*] It was one of the artifices of the malcontents in the civil wars to raise false alarms, and to fill the people full of frightful apprehensions. In particular, they raised a terrible outcry of the imaginary danger they con-

While women, great with child, miscarry'd,  
 For being to malignants marry'd:  
 1115 Transform'd all wives to Dalilahs,  
 Whose husbands were not for the cause:

ceived from the Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford. Lilburn glories upon his trial, for being an incendiary on such occasions, and mentions the tumult he raised against the innocent Colonel as a meritorious action: "I was once arraigned (says he) before the House of Peers, for sticking close to the liberties and privileges of this nation, and those that stood for them, being one of those two or three men that first drew their swords in Westminster-hall against Colonel Lunsford, and some scores of his associates: At that time it was supposed they intended to cut the throats of the chiefest men then sitting in the House of Peers." And, to render him the more odious, they reported that he was of so brutal an appetite, that he would eat children (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 286), which scandalous insinuation is deservedly ridiculed in the following lines:

"From Fielding and from Vavasour,  
 Both ill-affected men;  
 From Lunsford eke deliver us,  
 That eateth up children."

The Parliament Hymns, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. i.  
 No. 17, p. 38.

Cleveland banters them upon the same head:

"The post that came from Banbury,  
 Riding in a blue rocket,  
 He swore he saw when Lunsford fell  
 A child's arm in his pocket."

And, to make this gentleman the more detestable, they made horrid pictures of him, as we learn from the following lines of Mr. Cleveland (Rupertismus, Works, 1677, p. 67):

"They fear the giblets of his train, they fear  
 Even his dog, that four-legg'd cavalier;  
 He that devours the scraps which Lunsford makes,  
 Whose picture feeds upon a child in flakes."

Mr. Gayton, in banter of this idle opinion (see notes on Don Quixote, book iii. chap. vi. p. 103), calls Saturn the very Lunsford of the deities. They might as well have ascribed to him the appetite of the giant Wide-nosfrils, who swallowed windmills with their sails (Rabelais, vol. i. book iv. chap. 17), or the famous  
 Zyto

And turn'd the men to ten horn'd cattle,  
Because they went not out to battle :

Made tailors 'prentices turn heroes,

1120 For fear of being transform'd to Meroz ;

Zyto (conjurer to Wenceslaus, son to the Emperor Charles IV.), who, upon a trial of skill at the Duke of Bavaria's court, swallowed the Duke's principal conjurer with all he had about him, his dirty shoes excepted ; and then, for the diversion of the company, ran with him to a large tub of water, and launched him out to the middle of it. Vide *Historiæ Boemicæ*, lib. xxiii. p. 221, 222, a Jo. Dubravio Episcopo Olomuzensi, Basilicæ, 1575 ; Camerarius's *Living Library*, London, 1621, p. 266 ; *Turkish Spy*, vol. iv. book iv. chap. ix. ; *Plain Dealer*, published 1734, vol. i. No. 23. Colonel Lunsford, after all, was a person of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage, and was killed at the taking of Bristol by the King, in 1643. (See Echard's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 425.)

v 1120. ————— [*transform'd to Meroz.*] That text in Judges v. 28, "Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord ; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof ; because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

The rebellious preachers were wont to sound often in the ears of the people to make them imagine they should fall under a grievous curse, if they, as many at least as were fit to make soldiers, did not lift into the parliament army, to fight what these hypocritical rebels called, the Lord's battles against the mighty ; that was, the King and all his friends. (Dr. B.) Stephen Marthall preached a seditious sermon before the Commons, Feb. 13, 1641, from that text, entitled, *Meroz cursed* (penes me), to which probably Mr. Butler alludes ; or to Mr. Horton's Fast Sermon before the Peers, December 30, p. 8. See *A Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers*, 1723, p. 41.

"Then curse ye Meroz in each pulpit did thunder,  
To perplex the poor people, and keep them in wonder,  
Till all the reins of government were quite broken asunder."

Song, entitled, *The Rump served in with a grand Sallet*, ft. 16, *Collection of Loyal Songs*, reprinted 1731, vol. ii. p. 179.

The Scots (in their Declaration, August 10, concerning their expedition into England, p. 8, 9) say, "The Lord save us from the curse of Meroz, who came not to help the Lord against the mighty." How careful they and their English brethren were to keep all others from that curse, appears from the declaration of both kingdoms, 1643, p. 6. "We give (say they) public warning to such persons to rest no longer upon their neutrality,  
but

- And rather forfeit their indentures,  
 Than not espouse the fainst adventures.  
 Could transubstantiate, metamorphose,  
 And charm whole herds of beasts, like Orphe-  
 1125 Inchant the King's and church's lands, [us:  
 T' obey and follow your commands;  
 And settle on a new freehold,  
 As Marcly-hill had done of old;  
 Could turn the covenant, and translate  
 1130 The gospel into spoons and plate:  
 Expound upon all merchants' cashes,  
 And open th' intricate places:  
 Could catechise a money-box,  
 And prove all pouches orthodox;

but to take the covenant, and join with all their power; otherwise we do declare them to be public enemies to their religion and country, and that they are to be censured and punished as professed adversaries and malignants." Foulis's History of wicked Plots, &c. 2d edit. p. 178, 224.

v. 1127, 1128. *And settle on a new freehold,—As Marcly-hill had done of old.*] "Near the conflux of the Lug and Wye (Herefordshire) eastward, a hill which they call Marcly-hill, did, in the year 1575, rouse itself as it were out of sleep, and for three days together shoving its prodigious body forward, with a horrible roaring noise, and, overturning every thing in its way, raised itself, to the great astonishment of the beholders, to a higher place, by that kind of earthquake, I suppose, which naturalists call *Brafmatia*." Camden's *Britannia*, edit. 1722, col. 691; Stow's *Chronicle*, continued by Howes, p. 667.

A like account we meet with of Blackmore in Dorsetshire, in the year 1587 (Stow, *ib.* p. 695), and at Westram in Kent, 1599 (Stow, *ib.* p. 782), of the fall of one of the highest mountains among the Grisons by an earthquake, in the year 1618, which overwhelmed a borough, or little town; called Pleara, and swallowed up the inhabitants, so that there was not any trace or sign left of the place. Perrival's *History of the Iron Age*, part i. p. 88. And the sinking down of part of a hill near Clogher in Ireland, March 10, 1712-3, *Philosoph. Transactions*, vol. xxviii. p. 267;



- 1135 Until the cause became a Damon,  
 And Pythias the wicked Mammon.  
 And yet, in spite of all your charms,  
 To conjure Legion up in arms,  
 And raise more devils in the rout,  
 1140 Than e'er y' were able to cast out;  
 Y' have been reduc'd, and by those fools,  
 Bred up (you say) in your own schools;  
 Who, though but gifted at your feet,  
 Have made it plain they have more wit.  
 1145 By whom you have been so oft trepann'd,  
 And held forth out of all command:  
 Out-gifted, out-impuls'd, out-done,  
 And out-reveal'd at carryings-on.

p. 267; and of the uncommon sinking of the earth at Folkestone in Kent, 1716, Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxix. No. 349, p. 469, &c.; and the hill of Scarborough is fresh in memory. See accounts of the like kind, Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. lxxxiii.; Gryphiandri de Insulis, Casu Symplegadam Insular. cap. xxxi. p. 513; Alstedii Theaur. Chronologic. anno 1241, cap. xxxii. p. 306, edit. 1618; Mercurius Politicus, No. 372, p. 7935.

v 1135, 1136. *Until the cause became a Damon,—And Pythias the wicked Mammon.*] Damon and Pythias were two of Pythagoras's followers. When Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, had condemned one of them to die, he begged a few days to set his house in order, and the other willingly offered himself in the mean while to stay as a pledge, and to die instead of his friend, if he returned not at the time appointed: But he came according to appointment to suffer death himself, and thereby acquit his friend that had engaged for his return. When the tyrant saw this faithfulness of their friendship, he pardoned him that was condemned to die, and desired that he might be admitted as a third person in their friendship. (Valer. Maxim. lib. xx. cap. vii; De Amicitia, p. 412, edit. varior. 1651.) See the friendship of Nisus and Euryalus, Virgil. Æneid. lib. ix.

“His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant,” &c.

v. 1162.

- Of all your dispensations worm'd,  
 1150 Out-providenc'd and out-reform'd;  
 Ejected out of church and state,  
 And all things but the people's hate;  
 And spirited out of th' enjoyments  
 Of precious edifying employments,  
 1155 By those who lodg'd their gifts and graces  
 Like better bowlers in your places;  
 All which you bore, with resolution,  
 Charg'd on the account of persecution;  
 And though most righteously oppress'd,  
 1160 Against your wills, still acquiesc'd;  
 And never hum'd and hah'd sedition,  
 Nor snuffled treason, nor misprision.  
 That is, because you never durst;  
 For, had you preach'd and pray'd your worst,  
 1165 Alas! you were no longer able  
 To raise your posse of the rabble:  
 One single red-coat sentinel  
 Out-charm'd the magic of the spell;

v. 1162. *Nor snuffled treason.*] Alluding to those treasonable sermons before the two houses from 1641 to 1648, in number between two and three hundred.

Mr. Butler, in his Geneva Ballad, girds them for speaking through the nose, Remains, 1727, p. 46.

“ To draw in profelytes, like bees,  
 With pleasing twang, he tones his prose,  
 He gives his handkerchief a squeeze,  
 And draws John Calvin through his nose.”

And in his poem, entitled, *Oliver's Court*, Remains:

“ If he be one of the eating tribe,  
 Both a Pharisee and Scribe,

And

And, with his squirt-fire could disperse  
 I 170 Whole troops with chapter rais'd and verse:  
 We knew too well those tricks of yours,  
 To leave it ever in your powers;  
 Or trust our safeties or undoings  
 To your disposing of out-goings;  
 I 175 Or to your ordering providence,  
 One farthing's worth of consequence.

For had you power to undermine,  
 Or wit to carry a design,  
 Or correspondence to trepan,  
 I 180 Inveigle, or betray one man;  
 There's nothing else that intervenes,  
 And bars your zeal to use the means;  
 And therefore wondrous like, no doubt,  
 To bring in kings, or keep them out:  
 I 185 Brave undertakers to restore,  
 That could not keep yourselves in pow'r:  
 T' advance the int'rests of the crown,  
 That wanted wit to keep your own.

And hath learn'd the sniv'ling tone  
 Of a flux'd devotion,  
 Cursing, from his swearing tub,  
 The Cavaliers to Beelzebub;  
 Let him repair," &c.

Sir Roger L'Estrange distinguishes between the religion of the heart, and that of the nose. Declaration of the City to the Men at Westminster, L'Estrange's Apology, p. 40.

v. 1167, 1168. *One single red-coat sentinel—Out-charm'd the magic of the spell.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (Reflexion on the Fable of a Sheep and a Crow, part i. fab. 77), in his observation upon the mob, says, "that they are tongue-valiant, and as bold as Hercules, where they know there's no danger; but throw a volley of shot amongst them, and they have not the courage of so many hares."

- 'Tis true, you have (for I'd be loth  
 1190 To wrong ye) done your parts in both,  
 To keep him out, and bring him in,  
 As grace is introduc'd by sin;  
 For 'twas your zealous want of sense,  
 And sanctify'd impertinence;  
 1195 Your carrying business in a huddle,  
 That forc'd our rulers to new-model:  
 Oblig'd the state to tack about,  
 And turn you root and branch, all out;  
 To reformado, one and all,  
 1200 T' your great Croyfado General.  
 Your greedy flav'ring to devour,  
 Before 'twas in your clutches, power,

v. 1191. *To keep him out, and bring him in.*] See the Presbyterians notably girded upon this head, Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Moral to fab.* 240, 2d part, entitled, *The Fool makes the Music.*

v. 1199, 1200. *To reformado, one and all, — To your great Croyfado General.*] It was demanded in the army's remonstrances, and printed papers, "That all reformado officers, soldiers, and forces in and about London, or elsewhere, not actually in the army's power, may be immediately dispersed; the old city and parliament guards removed, and a new strong guard of horse and foot presently sent from the army to secure the city and tower of London, and the Commons house." The total and final Demands already made by, and to be expected from the Agitators and Army, p. 7. London, 1647.

By Croyfado General, General Fairfax is intended, who laid down his commission, when, in the year 1650, it was proposed to him to march against the Scots, see Echard's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 690; upon which the Rump settled upon him 5000l. per annum, Ludlow's *Memoirs*, edit. 1698, vol. i. p. 316.

Mr. Cleveland (in his *Character of a London Diurnal*) observes upon him as follows: "The greatest wonder is at Fairfax, how he came to be a babe of grace. Certainly it is not in his personal, but (as the State Sophies distinguish) in his politic capacity; re-generated



- That sprung the game you were to fet,  
 Before y' had time to draw the net :  
 1205 Your spite to see the churches lands  
 Divided into other hands,  
 And all your sacrilegious ventures  
 Laid out in tickets and debentures :  
 Your envy to be sprinkled down,  
 1210 By under churches in the town ;  
 And no course us'd to stop their mouths,  
 Nor the Independent's spreading growths :  
 All which consider'd, 'tis most true  
 None bring him in so much as you,  
 1215 Who have prevail'd beyond their plots,  
 Their midnight juntos, and seal'd knots ;

generated *ab extra* by the zeal of the house he sat in, as chickens are hatched at Grand Cairo, by the adoption of an oven."

" Will. Fool was counted the worst of the twain, (Sir W. Waller.)  
 Till Tom Fool, Lord F——, the cause to maintain,  
 His honour and conscience did fearfully stain,  
 Which no body can deny."

The Rump carbonado'd, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 121.

General Fairfax is called the Croysado General ; because religion was the first pretence to rebellion, and in allusion to the expedition of the Christians in the year 1196, to recover the holy land from the infidel Saracens, at the instance of Pope Urban II. which was called the Croysade. See an account of it, Life of Godfrey of Bullen, by Fairfax ; Abbe Vertot's History of the Knights of Malta, vol. i. p. 9, 10, 11, &c. ; Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, by Mr. Hearne, p. 392 ; Baker's History of the Inquisition, 1734, p. 5, &c. ; and an Account of the Croysade of the Ladies at Genoa, Misson's New Voyages, &c. vol. i. p. 426, 427.

v. 1215, 1216. *Who have prevail'd beyond their plots,—Their midnight juntos, and seal'd knots.*] This probably refers to their private cabals, or clubs : a knot of men, or club of men, is much the same ; and the word knots, rather than clubs, is used for the

- That thrive more by your zealous piques,  
 Than all their own rash politics.  
 And this way you may claim a share,  
 1220 In carrying (as you brag) th' affair,  
 Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews  
 From Pharaoh and his brick-kilns loose,  
 And flies and mange, that set them free  
 From task-masters and slavery,  
 1225 Were likelier to do the feat,  
 In any indifferent man's conceit.  
 For who e'er heard of restoration,  
 Until your thorough reformation?

fake of the rhyme. He calls them *seal'd knots*, on account of the secrecy they were bound to keep. (Dr. B.)

v. 1221, 1222. *Else frogs and toads that croak'd the Jews—From Pharaoh and his brick-kilns loose.*] Alluding to one of the plagues in Egypt. See Exodus viii.

“ Et veterem in limo ranæ cecinere querelam.”

Virgilii Georgic. lib. i. 378.

“ Improbis ingluviem ranisque loquacibus explet.”

Virgilii Georgic. lib. iii. 431.

v. 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240. ———— *the Isle of Wight—Will rise up, if you should deny't;—Where Henderson, and th' other Masses,—Were sent to cap texts, and put cases.*] When the King, in the year 1646, was in the Scotch army, the English parliament sent him some propositions; one of which was the abolition of Episcopacy, and the setting up Presbytery in its stead. Mr. Henderson, one of the chief of the Scotch Presbyterian ministers, was employed to induce the King to agree to this proposition; it being what his Majesty chiefly stuck at. Accordingly he came provided with books and papers for his purpose: The controversy was debated in writing, as well as by personal conference, and several papers passed between them, which have been several times published: From which it appears, that the King, without books or papers, or any one to assist him, was an overmatch for this old champion of the kirk (and I think it will be no hyperbole, if I add, for all the then English and Scotch Presbyterian teachers put together),

That is, the king's and church's lands  
 1230 Were sequester'd int' other hands :  
 For only then, and not before,  
 Your eyes were open'd to restore.  
 And, when the work was carrying on,  
 Who cross'd it but yourselves alone ?

1235 As by a world of hints appears,  
 All plain and extant as your ears.

But first, o' th' first: The Isle of Wight  
 Will rise up, if you should deny't;  
 Where Henderson, and th' other Masses,  
 1240 Were sent to cap texts and put cases:

gether) and made him so far a convert, that he departed, with great sorrow, to Edinburgh, with a deep sense of the mischief of which he had been the author and abettor; and not only lamented to his friends and confidants, on his death-bed, which followed soon after, but likewise published a solemn declaration to the Parliament and Synod of England, in which he owned, "That they had been abused with most false aspersions against his Majesty, and that they ought to restore him to his full rights, royal throne, and dignity, lest an endless character of ingratitude lie upon them, that may turn to their ruin." As to the King himself, besides mentioning his justice, his magnanimity, his sobriety, his charity, and other virtues, he has these words: "I do declare, before God and the world, whether in relation to the kirk or state, I found his Majesty the most intelligent man that ever I spoke with, as far beyond my expression as expectation.—I profess I was oftentimes astonished with the quickness of his reasons and replies; wondered how he, spending his time in sports, and recreations, could have attained to so great knowledge, and must confess, that I was convinced in conscience, and knew not how to give him any reasonable satisfaction; yet the sweetness of his disposition is such, that whatever I said was well taken. I must say that I never met with any disputant of that mild and calm temper, which convinced me, that his wisdom and moderation could not be without an extraordinary measure of divine grace. I dare say, if his advice had

To pass for deep and learned scholars,  
 Although but paltry Ob and Sollers:  
 As if th' unseasonable fools  
 Had been a courting in the schools:  
 1245 Until th' had prov'd the devil author

been followed, all the blood that is shed, and all the rapine that has been committed, would have been prevented." (Dr. B.)

Mr Butler is mistaken in saying, that Henderson was one of the persons sent to dispute with the King in the Isle of Wight; for Mr Henderson died October 31, 1646, (Whitlock's Memorials, 2d edit. p. 221) and the treaty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, began Monday the 18th of September, 1648, (Echard's History of England. vol. ii. p. 61; Whitelock's Memorials, p. 337) near two years after Mr. Henderson's death.

v. 1241, 1242. *To pass for deep and learned scholars,—Although but paltry Ob and Sollers.*] Ob and Sollers are said by the annotator to be "two ridiculous scribblers, that were often pestering the world with nonsense." Two scribblers that never wrote at all, or were known only to our annotator.

Whoever considers the context will find, that Ob and Sollers are designed as a character of Mr. Henderson, and his fellow disputants, who are called *Mas*ses (as *Mas* is an abridgment of *Master*), that is, young masters in divinity; and this character signifies something quite contrary to deep and learned scholars; particularly such as had studied controversies, as they are handled by little books, or systems (of the Dutch and Geneva cut), where the authors represent their adversaries arguments by small objections, and subjoin their own pitiful solutions: In the margin of these books may be seen Ob and Sol: Such mushroom divines are ingeniously and compendiously called Ob and Sollers. (Dr. N.)

" Next comes in gold that brazen face,  
 If blust'ring be a sign of grace,  
 The youth is in a woful case:  
 Whilst he should give us Sols and Obs,  
 He brings us in some simple bobs,  
 And fathers them on Mr. Hobs."

The Rota. See Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 217.

v. 1250. *Like Sir Pride*—] Pride was a foundling, to which the following lines allude, Collection of Loyal Songs, &c. vol. i. p. 181.

" He,



O' th' covenant, and the cause his daughter.  
 For, when they charg'd him with the guilt  
 Of all the blood that had been spilt,  
 They did not mean he wrought th' effusion:  
 1250 In person, like Sir Pride, or Hewson:

" He, by Fortune's design, should have been a divine,  
 And a pillar no doubt of the church;  
 Whom a sexton (God wot) in the belfry begot,  
 And his mother did pig in the porch."

He had been a brewer, or rather a drayman; for which he is sneered by the same poet, *id. ib. st. 5.*

" But observe the device of this nobleman's rise,  
 How he hurried from trade to trade;  
 From the grains he'd aspire to the yest, and then higher;  
 Till at length he a drayman was made."

He went into the army, was made a colonel, and was principally concerned in secluding the members, in order to the King's trial; which great change was called Colonel Pride's Purge. (See Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 621.) He was one of Oliver Cromwell's Upper House. (See Second Narrative of the Parliament so called, p. 23; Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 252.) He is called Thomas Lord Pride, in the commission for erecting a High Court of Justice, for the trial of Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewit, &c. *Mercurius Politicus*, No 413, p. 492. Mr. Butler calls him Sir Pride, by way of sneer upon the manner of his being knighted; for Oliver Cromwell knighted him with a faggot-stick instead of a sword. (See Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 587.) A knighthood not much unlike that proposed by Ralph, knight of the burning-pebble, (see Beaumont and Fletcher's play so called, edit. 1635, p. 32) to the inn-keeper, in lieu of his reckoning.

" *Ralph.* Sir Knight, this mirth of yours becomes you well,  
 But, to require this liberal courtesy,  
 If any of your squires will follow arms,  
 [Viz. Chamberlaine, Tapstero, and Ostlero.]  
 He shall receive from my heroic hand,  
 A knighthood by virtue of this pebble."

*Ibid.* ————— or *Hewson.*] He was a cobbler, went into the army, and was made a colonel; knighted by Oliver Cromwell, and, to help to cobble the crazy state of the nation, was made one of Oliver's Upper House. (See Second Narrative,

But only those, who first begun  
 The quarrel, were by him set on.  
 And who could those be but the saints,  
 Those reformation termagants?  
 1255 But, ere this pass'd, the wise debate  
 Spent so much time, it grew too late;

&c. p. 23.) Sir Roger L'Estrange (see fable of the Cobbler turned Doctor, 1st. part, fab. 401; see likewise 2d part, fab. 37) makes the following remark upon Hewson: "This minds me of a question a cobbling colonel of famous memory (and he was a statesman of the long parliament edition) put to a lady of quality in Ireland: She had been so terribly plundered, that the poor woman went almost barefoot; and, as she was warming her feet once in the chimney corner, the Colonel took notice that her shoes wanted capping, Lord, Madam, (says he) why do you wear no better shoes? Why, truly, Sir, (says she) all the cobblers are turned colonels, and I can get no-body to mend them." He observes farther of this infamous cobbling Colonel (Key to Hudibras), "That the day the King was beheaded, he went with a body of horse from Charing-crofs to the Royal Exchange, proclaiming all the way, that whosoever should say that Charles Stuart died wrongfully should suffer present death." And he is justly sneered by Mr. Butler, and another loyal poet, in the following lines:

"A one-ey'd Cobbler then was one  
 Of that rebellious crew,  
 That in Charles the martyr's blood  
 Their wicked hands imbrew."  
 Tale of the Cobbler and Vicar of Bray, Remains.  
 "Make room for one-ey'd Hewson,  
 A Lord of such account,  
 'Twas a pretty jest  
 That such a beast  
 Should to such honours mount.  
 When Cobblers were in fashion,  
 And niggards in such grace,  
 'Twas sport to see  
 How Pride and he  
 Did jostle for the place."

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 11.

See a further account of him (Committee of Safety, Collection  
 of

For Oliver had gotten ground,  
 T' inclose him with his warriors round :  
 Had brought his providence about,  
 1260 And turn'd th' untimely sophists out.  
 Nor had the Uxbridge business less  
 Of nonsense in't, or sottishness;

of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 31. p. 152 ; The Cobbler's Last Will and Testament, or Hewson's Translation, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 233 ; A Hymn to the Gentle Craft, or Hewson's Lamentation, id. ib. No. 54, p. 240 ; Oliver's Court, Mr. Butler's Remains); and of his villainy (Trial of William Hulet, as executioner of the King, Trials of the Regicides, 1660, p. 228, and Sir Roger L'Estrange's Apology, p. 46, where he observes, "That a brother cobbler was killed by his order.")

v. 1257. *For Oliver had gotten ground, &c* ] Cromwell was in Scotland when the treaty of Newport began, but it went on with a fatal slowness, chiefly by the means of Sir Harry Vane, Pierpoint, and some others, who went to it on purpose to delay matters; and partly by the diffidence of that religious monarch, who could not come to a resolution so soon as his friends desired earnestly of him; so that, by the time it was come to any maturity, Cromwell came with his army from Scotland to London, and overturned all. (Mr. B.) See Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 18.

v. 1260. *And turn'd th' untimely sophists out.*] See note upon v. 1250.

v. 1261, 1262. *Nor had the Uxbridge business less—Of nonsense in't or sottishness.*] The Parliament's commissioners were tied up to rigid rules, and seemed to have no power of receding from the very letter of the propositions they brought along with them. This is confirmed by the King's letter to his Queen, of the 5th of March after: "Now is it come to pass (says he) what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still very confident that I shall find the good effects of it: For, besides that my commissioners have offered (to say no more) full measured reason, and the rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which, I dare say, had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner; so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them." This sentiment is just and rational, since the Parliament's commissioners were inflexible, and made not the least concession. As to what has been pretended in some me-

When from a scoundrel holder-forth,  
 The scum, as well as son o' th' earth,  
 1265 Your mighty senators took law,  
 At his command, were forc'd t' withdraw,

moirs (Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 39, &c.), That the King abruptly broke up this treaty, upon the Marquis of Montrose's letter to him upon his victory in Scotland, I think it may be refuted by the King's letter to his Queen of the 19th February, wherein he tells her, "He even then received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montrose, who, upon surprise, totally routed those rebels, and killed 1500 of them upon the place." This is all he says of it; and, if he had received such a letter as is pretended, or this victory had such an extraordinary effect upon him, no doubt he would, in the height of his joy, have told the Queen of it, to whom he opened his bosom, and frankly communicated all his secret intentions. Nay, does he not, in his letter of the 5th of March, when the treaty was broke up, absolutely lay the fruitless issue of it to the rigidity of the parliament's commissioners? If it had been rendered ineffectual by his means, or if he had receded upon this intelligence from any proposition he had before agreed to, certainly the Queen must have been acquainted with so extraordinary a motive: On the contrary, he was desirous the treaty might be prolonged, in hopes of an accommodation; for, on the 19th of February, he tells her, "He had set an enlargement of days, for the limited days for treating were then almost expired." These are authorities drawn out of the King's own letters, which fell into the power of the parliament at Naseby fight, which were soon afterwards published to the world by special order of parliament, under the title of The King's Cabinet opened, with severe annotations upon them. And can we think, that, if the least hint of this secret piece of history had been found, the strict and partial examiners of those letters and papers would not have triumphed at the discovery, and blazoned it to the good people of England, in their plausible annotations? I have been thus particular in refuting this ill-natured insinuation, because it has of late so often been mentioned in conversation, and the truth of it, by some men who are no friends to the memory of that excellent monarch, taken for granted. (Mr. B.)

v. 1263. ———— *a scoundrel holder forth.*] This was Mr. Christopher Love, a furious Presbyterian, who, when the King's commissioners



And sacrifice the peace o' th' nation  
To doctrine, use, and application.

So, when the Scots, your 'constant cronies,  
1270 Th' espousers of your cause and monies,

missioners met those of the parliament at Uxbridge, in the year 1644, to treat of peace, preached a sermon there on the 30th of January, against the treaty, and said, among other things, that "no good was to be expected from it, for that they (meaning the King's commissioners) came from Oxford with hearts full of blood."

Mr. Echard (vol. ii. p. 706, from Dr. Nalson) mentions a providential vengeance upon him, occasioned by this incident: That the letter of reprieve from Cromwell was taken from the northern post-boy by some Cavaliers on the road. See an account of his abject behaviour at his execution, *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th vol. of the History of the Puritans*, p. 128, &c.

1269, 1270. *So, when the Scots, your constant cronies,—Th' espousers of your cause and monies.*] The expence the English rebels engaged the nation in, by bringing in their brother rebels from Scotland, amounted to an extravagant sum: their receipts in money, and free quarter, 1,462,769 l. 5 s. 3 d. See *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 3d vol. of the History of the Puritans*, p. 270, and Appendix, No. 62, 63, 64, 65. William Lilly, the Sidrophel of this poem, observes of the Scots (Preface to his *Astrological Predictions of the Occurrences of England, 1648, 1649, 1650*), "That they came into England purposely to steal our goods, ravish our wives, enslave our persons, inherit our possessions and birth-rights, remain here in England, and everlastingly to inhabit among us."

Mr. Bowlstrode, son of Colonel Bowlstrode, a factious rebel in Buckinghamshire, in his prayer before his sermon, at Horton, near Colnbrook, used the following words: "Thou hast, O Lord, of late, written bitter things against thy children, and forsaken thine own inheritance: And now, O Lord, in our misery and distress we expected aid from our brethren of our neighbouring nation (the Scots I mean), but, good Lord, thou knowest that they are a false and perfidious nation, and do all they do for their own ends." *Mercurius Rusticus*, No. 14, p. 157.

By the author of a tract, entitled, *Lex Talionis, 1647*, p. 9, it is proposed, as a preventing remedy, "to let the Scots, in the name of God, or of the devil that sent them, go home."

- Who had so often, in your aid,  
 So many ways been soundly paid :  
 Came in at last for better ends,  
 To prove themselves your trusty friends ;  
 1275 You basely left them, and the church  
 They train'd you up to, in the lurch,  
 And suffer'd your own tribe of Christians  
 To fall before, as true Philistines.  
 This shews what utensils y' have been,  
 1280 To bring the King's concernments in :  
 Which is so far from being true,  
 That none but he can bring in you :  
 And, if he take you into trust,  
 Will find you most exactly just :  
 1285 Such as will punctually repay  
 With double interest, and betray.  
 Not that I think those pantomimes,  
 Who vary action with the times,  
 Are less ingenious in their art,  
 1290 Than those who dully act one part ;  
 Or those who turn from side to side,

" I must confess, the holy firk  
 Did only work upon our kirk  
 For silver and for meat ;  
 Which made us come with a' our broods,  
 Venture our blood for a' your goods,  
 To pilfer and to cheat."

The Scotch war, Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, vol. i.  
 No. 24.

" For of late the treacherous Scots and we  
 On a national covenant did agree ;  
 And bound ourselves by solemn oath,  
 Ne'er after to keep faith and troth ;  
 And well may we swear,  
 They're our brethren dear,

More guilty than the wind and tide.

All countries are a wise man's home,

And so are governments to some ;

1295 Who change them for the same intrigues

That statesmen use in breaking leagues :

While others, in old faiths and troths,

Look odd, as out-of-fashion'd cloaths :

And nastier, in an old opinion,

1300 Than those who never shift their linen.

For true and faithful's sure to lose,

Which way soever the game goes :

And, whether parties lose or win,

Is always nick'd, or else hedg'd in.

1305 While power usurp'd, like stolen delight,

Is more bewitching than the right,

And, when the times begin to alter,

None rise so high as from the halter.

And so may we, if w' have but sense

1310 To use the necessary means,

And not your usual stratagems

On one another, lights and dreams.

For they have cost us many a thousand pound ;

And for all that we have got

But this advantage from the Scot,

We are turn'd rebellious and round."

A New Ballad, called, a Review of the Rebellion, in three parts.

See a further account of the Scotch rebels, Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 338, 339, &c.; Perrival's History of the Iron Age, part i. p. 88, part ii. p. 208.

v. 1308. *None rise so high as from the halter.*] This was Sir Sampson Legend's opinion in Jeremy's case, Congreve's Love for Love, act ii. sc. iv; and Gibbet's, see Answer to Archer, Beaux Stratagem, act ii. p. 25.

- To stand on terms as positive,  
 As if we did not take, but give :
- 1315 Set up the covenant on crutches,  
 'Gainst those who have us in their clutches,  
 And dream of pulling churches down,  
 Before w' are sure to prop our own :  
 Your constant method of proceeding,
- 1320 Without the carnal means of heading :  
 Who, 'twixt your inward sense and outward,  
 Are worse, than if y' had none, accounted,  
 I grant, all courses are in vain,  
 Unless we can get in again ;
- 1325 The only way that's left us now,  
 But all the difficulty's, how.  
 'Tis true, w' have money, th' only power,

v. 1327, 1328. *'Tis true, w' have money, th' only pow'r—That all mankind fall down before.*] It is with money, as it is with majesty (says Sir Roger L'Estrange, Reflection on the Fable of the Countryman and Kid, First Part, fab. 340), all other powers and authorities cease, whilst that's in place.—Fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, relations, friendships, are all but empty names of things.—It is interest that governs the world, and the rulers of it.—For it works in all degrees and qualities of men.—Money, in fine, is the universal passport ; and all doors open before it."

"Nihil autem tam arduum quod pecunia non explicitur : Quemadmodum eleganter dictum est à M. Tullio, actione in Verrem secundâ, nihil esse tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum, quod non expugnari pecunia possit. Ortam aiunt Paræmiam ab oraculo quodam Apollinis Pythii, qui Philippo regi consulenti, quo pacto possit victoria potiri ? Respondit ad hunc modum :

*Ἀργυρίαις λογχαῖσι μάχεσθαι, καὶ πάντα νικῆσεις.*

[qu. κεραιήσεις]

i. e. Argenteis pugna telis atque omnia vinces, videlicet innuens, ut quosdam largitionis ad prodicionem sollicitaret, atque ita consecuturum quæ vellet." Erasmi Adag. Chil. ii. Cent.



That all mankind fall down before ;  
 Money, that, like the fwords of kings,  
 1330 Is the laſt reaſon of all things ;  
 And therefore need not doubt our play  
 Has all advantages that way:  
 As long as men have faith to ſell,  
 And meet with thoſe that can pay well;  
 1335 Whoſe half-ftarv'd pride and avarice,  
 One church and ſtate will not ſuffice,  
 T' expoſe to ſale, beſide the wages,  
 Of ſtoring plagues to after ages.  
 Nor is our money leſs our own,  
 1340 Than 'twas before we laid it down;  
 For 'twill return, and turn t' account,  
 If we are brought in play upon't :

Cent. vii. Prov. xliii. vol. ii. op. p. 624. Vide etiam Adag. Chil. i.  
 Cent. iii. Prov. lxxxvii. vol. ii. p. 144; Pecuniæ obediunt omnia.  
 See Ray's Proverb, 2d edit. p. 147.

Ψυχὴν βροτοῖσιν αἶμα τ' ἐστὶν ἀργυρὸς.

Sententia poetæ Timoclis. Vid. Natal. Comit. Mythol. lib. ii.  
 cap. ii. Reufneri Symbol. Imperat. claff. i. fym. xxii. p. 48, &c.

See Shakeſpeare's Timon of Athens, act iv. vol. v. p. 273;  
 Turkiſh Spy, vol. iv. book iv. letter ii; Spectator, No. 450; Dr.  
 Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to edit. vol. i. p. 266.

v. 1329, 1330. *Money, that, like the fwords of kings,—Is the  
 laſt reaſon of all things.*] See the Spectator's diſſertation upon the  
 Argumentum Baſilinum (others write it Bacilinum, or Baculi-  
 num), No. 239.

“ A man (ſays the Spectator, No. 240), who is furniſhed with  
 arguments from the mint, will convince his antagoniſts much  
 ſooner than one who draws them from reaſon and philoſophy.  
 Gold is a wonderful clearer of the underſtanding, it diſſipates  
 every doubt and ſcruple in an inſtant, accommodates itſelf to the  
 meanest capacities, ſilences the loud and clamorous, and brings  
 over the moſt obſtinate and inflexible.”

- Or but, by casting knaves get in,  
What power can hinder us to win?  
1345 We know the arts we us'd before,  
In peace and war, and something more,  
And, by th' unfortunate events,  
Can mend our next experiments :  
For, when w' are taken into trust,  
1350 How easy are the wisest chous'd ;  
Who see but the outsides of our feats,  
And not their secret springs and weights ;  
And, while they're busy at their ease,  
Can carry what designs we please ?  
1355 How easy is't to serve for agents,  
To prosecute our old engagements ?  
To keep the good old cause on foot,  
And present power from taking root ;  
Inflame them both with false alarms  
1360 Of plots and parties taking arms :  
To keep the nation's wounds too wide  
From healing up of side to side ;  
Profess the passionat'st concerns,  
For both their interests, by turns,  
1365 The only way t' improve our own,  
By dealing faithfully with none ;  
(As bowls run true, by being made  
On purpose false, and to be sway'd)  
For, if we should be true to either,  
1370 'Twould turn us out of both together ;

v. 1362. *For healing up*, in all editions to 1704, exclusive.

- And therefore have no other means  
To stand upon our own defence,  
But keeping up our ancient party,  
In vigour, confident and hearty :
- 1375 To reconcile our late dissenters,  
Our brethren, though by other venters;  
Unite them and their different maggots,  
As long and short sticks are in faggots,  
And make them join again as close,  
1380 As when they first began t'espouse ;  
Erect them into separate  
New Jewish tribes, in church and state ;  
To join in marriage and commerce,  
And only among themselves converse,
- 1385 And all, that are not of their mind,  
Make enemies to all mankind:  
Take all religions in, and stickle  
From conclave down to conventicle;  
Agreeing still, or disagreeing,  
1390 According to the light in being.  
Sometimes, for liberty of conscience,  
And spiritual mis-rule, in one sense;  
But in another quite contrary,  
As dispensations chance to vary ;
- 1395 And stand for, as the times will bear it,  
All contradictions of the spirit :  
Protect their emissaries, empower'd  
To preach sedition and the word :

v. 1368. *Of purpose false*, in all editions to 1704, exclusive.

v. 1414.

- And, when they're hamper'd by the laws,  
 1400 Release the lab'ers for the cause ;  
 And turn the persecution back  
 On those that made the first attack,  
 To keep them equally in awe,  
 From breaking or maintaining law.
- 1405 And when they have their fits too soon,  
 Before the full tides of the moon ;  
 Put off their zeal t' a fitter season,  
 For sowing faction in and treason ;  
 And keep them hooded, and their churches,
- 1410 Like hawks from baiting on their perches.  
 That when the blessed time shall come  
 Of quitting Babylon and Rome,  
 They may be ready to restore  
 Their own Fifth Monarchy once more.
- 1415 Mean while be better arm'd to fence  
 Against revolts of providence ;

v. 1414. *Their own Fifth Monarchy once more.*] Dr. Lightfoot (see Sermon on the 5th of November, 1669, Works, vol. ii. p. 1166; see likewise 1056, 1057) speaks of the Fifth Monarchy Men in the following manner: "And here (says he) I doubt the Fifth Monarchy Man is foully mistaken in his reckoning, when he accounts the Fifth Monarchy to be the kingdom of Christ; whereas the Fifth Monarchy was the kingdom of the devil."

v. 1419, 1420. *For, if success could make us saints,—Our ruin turn'd us miscreants.*] The author of the Fourth Part of the History of Independency, p. 56, compares the governors of those times with the Turks, who ascribe the goodness of their cause to the keenness of their swords, denying that any thing may properly be called *nefas*, if it can but win the epithet of *prosperum*. Dr. Owen seems to have been in this way of thinking. "Where (says he, Eben Ezer, p. 13; L'Estrange's Dissenters Sayings, part ii. p. 11)



By watching narrowly, and snapping  
 All blind sides of it, as they happen:  
 For, if success could make us faints,  
 1420 Our ruin turn'd us miscreants;  
 A scandal that would fall too hard  
 Upon a few, and unprepar'd.

These are the courses we must run,  
 Spite of our hearts, or be undone ;  
 1425 And not to stand on terms and freaks,  
 Before we have secur'd our necks :  
 But do our work, as out of sight,  
 As stars by day, and suns by night ;  
 All licence of the people own,  
 1430 In opposition to the crown,  
 And for the crown as fiercely side,  
 The head and body to divide ;  
 The end of all we first design'd,  
 And all that yet remains behind.

is the God of Maſton Moor, and the God of Naſeby ? is an acceptable expoſtulation in a glorious day, O ! what a catalogue of mercies has this nation to plead by in a time of trouble ? The God came from Naſeby, and the Holy One from the weſt. *Selah.*"

And a poet of thoſe times banters them upon this head, in the following lines :

" That ſide is always right that's ſtrong,  
 And that that's beaten muſt be wrong ;  
 And he that thinks that 'tis not ſo,  
 Unleſs he's ſure to beat 'um too,  
 Is but a fool to oppoſe 'um."

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 143.

See the rebellion juſtified (by their rebel-preachers) from ſucceſs. Century of Eminent Preſbyterian Preachers, p. 22, &c.

v. 1443.

- 1435 Be sure to spare no public rapine,  
On all emergencies that happen;  
For 'tis as easy to supplant  
Authority, as men in want:  
As some of us, in trusts, have made  
1440 The one hand with the other trade;  
Gain'd vastly by their joint endeavour,  
The right a thief, the left receiver;  
And what the one, by tricks, forestall'd,  
The other, by as fly, retail'd.  
1445 For gain has wonderful effects  
T' improve the factory of sects;  
The rule of faith in all professions,  
And great Diana of the Ephesians:  
Whence turning of religion's made  
1450 The means to turn and wind a trade;  
And, though some change it for the worse,  
They put themselves into a course,  
And draw in store of customers,  
To thrive the better in commerce.  
1455 For all religions flock together,  
Like tame and wild fowl of a feather,  
To nab the itches of their sects,  
As jades do one another's necks.  
Hence 'tis hypocrisy as well  
1460 Will serve t' improve a church as zeal;

v. 1448. *And great Diana of th' Ephesians.*] See Acts xix. 28.

As persecution, or promotion,  
Do equally advance devotion.

Let business, like ill watches, go  
Sometime too fast, sometime too slow ;

1465 For things in order are put out  
So easy, ease itself will do't :  
But, when the feat's design'd and meant,  
What miracle can bar th' event ?  
For 'tis more easy to betray,  
1470 Than ruin any other way.

All possible occasions start,  
The weighti'ft matters to divert ;  
Obstruct, perplex, distract, entangle,  
And lay perpetual trains to wrangle.

1475 But in affairs of less import,  
That neither do us good nor hurt,  
And they receive as little by,  
Out-fawn as much, and out-comply ;  
And seem as scrupulously just,

1480 To bait our hooks for greater trust :  
But still be careful to cry down  
All public actions, though our own ;  
The least miscarriage aggravate,  
And charge it all upon the state :

1485 Express the horrid'ft detestation,  
And pity the distracted nation.  
Tell stories scandalous, and false,  
I' th' proper language of cabals,

v. 1456. *Like tame and wild fowl of a feather.*] " Birds of a feather flock together." See Ray's Proverbial Sentences, b. xxxviii. p. 61, edit. 1670.

Where all a subtle statesman says,  
 1490 Is half in words, and half in face;  
 (As Spaniards talk in dialogues  
 Of heads and shoulders, nods and shrugs).  
 Entrust it under solemn vows  
 Of mum, and silence, and the rose,  
 1495 To be retail'd again in whispers,  
 For th' easy credulous to disperse.  
 Thus far the statesman—when a shout.  
 Heard at a distance, put him out;  
 And strait another, all aghast,  
 1500 Rush'd in with equal fear and haste;  
 Who star'd about, as pale as death,

v. 1493, 1494. *Entrust it under solemn vows—Of mum———*] *Mum* in print (says Dr. Baynard, History of Cold Baths, p. 132) is like the sealing of a bond in private, which begins, *Noverint universi*.

Ibid ——— and *silence* ———] See an account of the secrecy of the Venetian councils, Howel's History of the Signory of Venice, p. 7.

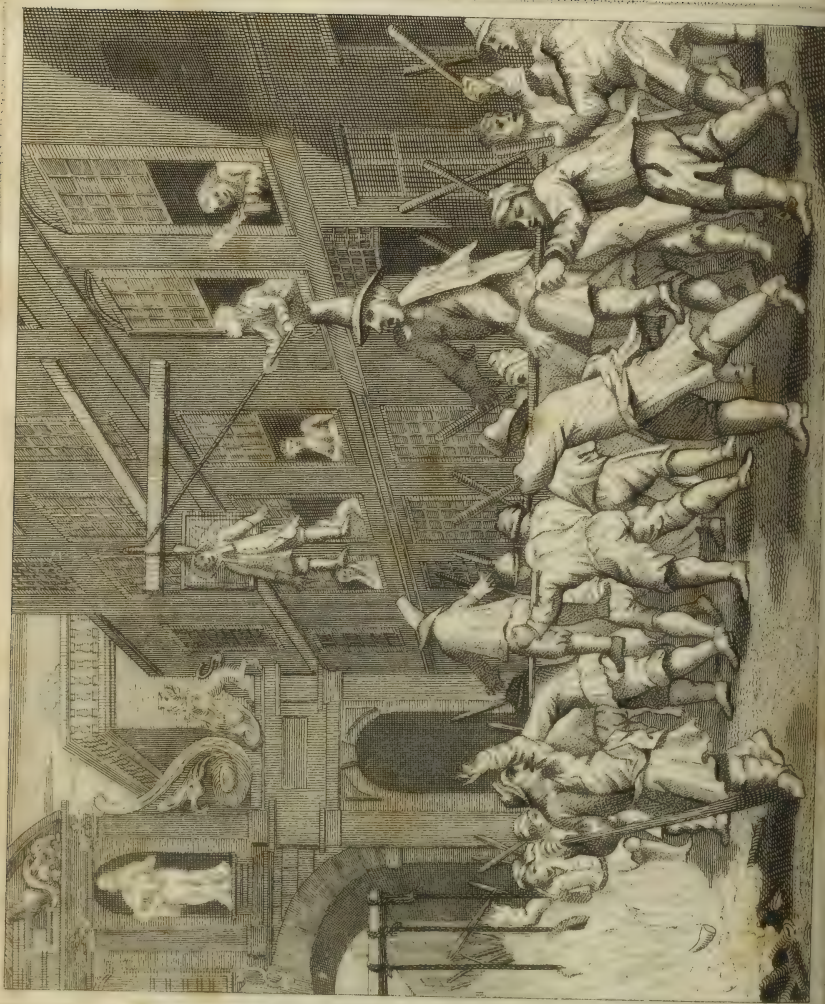
Ibid. ——— and *the rose*] See this fully explained, Stuckii Antiquitat. Convivial. lib. iii. cap. xvi; Levini Lemnii Herbar. Biblior. explicat. cap. xlv; Angeli Politiani Miscell. cap. lxxxiii; Grueteri Fax Art. tom. i. p. 100; Sir Tho. Browne's Vulgar Errors, book v. chap. xxi. § vii; Archbishop Potter's Antiquities of Greece, vol. ii. chap. xx.

v. 1495, 1496. *To be retail'd again in whispers—For th' easy credulous to disperse.*] The entrusting of secrets, with a design of having them divulged, is well exposed in Sir Roger L'Estrange's Fable of the Woman entrusted with a secret, part 1 fab. 427, who (by way of trial and banter) was entrusted by her husband with the secret of his having laid an egg, which was increased to forty eggs by six in the afternoon.

Rabelais (Works, vol. iii. chap. xxxiv) informs us, how Pope John XXII. reproved the Abbess and Nuns of Fontherralt, for not being able to keep a secret with which he had entrusted them twenty-four hours, though they had desired of him an indulgence







And, for a while, as out of breath;  
 Till, having gather'd up his wits,  
 He thus began his tale by fits:

1505 That beastly rabble, — that came down  
 From all the garrets—in the town,  
 And stalls and shop-boards, in vast swarms,  
 With new-chalk'd bills, and rusty arms,  
 To cry the cause—up, heretofore,  
 1510 And bawl the bishops—out of door;  
 Are now drawn up—in greater shoals,  
 To roast—and broil us on the coals,  
 And all the grandees—of our members  
 Are carbonad'ing—on the embers;

to confess themselves to one another under the seal of secrecy. See *Wife of Bath's Tale*, Dryden's *Fables*, folio, p. 485; Tatler, No. 152.

v. 1504. *He thus began his tale by fits.*] We learn from Lilly (Life p. 85), that the messenger who brought this terrifying intelligence to this cabal, was Sir Martyn Noell, whom he calls a discreet citizen: he came about nine at night, and told them the surprising news of the citizens burning the parliament (which they then called the Rump) in effigy and emblem. Lilly says, "This council of state (the very cabal before us) could not believe it, until they had sent some minister of their own, who affirmed the verity of it." Sir Martyn tells his story naturally, and begins like a man in a fright and out of breath, and continues to make breaks and stops till he naturally recovers it; and then proceeds floridly, and without impediment. This is a beauty in the poem not to be disregarded; and let the reader make an experiment, and shorten his breath, or, in other words, put himself in Sir Martyn's condition, and then read this relation, and he will soon be convinced, that the breaks are natural and judicious. (Mr. B.)

v. 1505. *That beastly rabble that came down, &c.*] \* This is an accurate description of the mob's burning rumps upon the admission of the secluded members, in contempt of the Rump parliament.



1515 Knights, citizens, and burgesſes—  
       Held forth by rumps—of pigs and geefe,  
       That ſerve for characters—and badges  
       To repreſent their perſonages:  
       Each bonfire as a funeral pile,  
 1520 In which they roaſt, and ſcorch, and broil,  
       And every repreſentative  
       Have vow'd to roaſt—and broil alive:  
           And 'tis a miracle, we are not  
       Already ſacrific'd incarnate :

v. 1534. *Be ready liſted under Dun.*] Dun was the public executioner at that time, and the executioners long after that went by the ſame name. Mr. Butler, in his Propoſal for farming Liberty of Conſcience, publiſhed 1663, p. 30, among other reſolutions gives the following one: “ Reſolved, that a day of ſolemn faſting be—and among many other particulars,—laſtly, to be delivered from the hand of Dun, that uncircumciſed Philiftine.”

His predeceſſor's name was Gregory, as appears from the prologue to *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, a Tragi-Comedy, acted at Paris, &c. 1641.

“ This trembles under the black road, and he  
       Doth fear his fate from the Gregorian tree.”

And in a paper called the Parliament Kite, 1648, No. 14, mention is made of him :

“ What would you ſay, to ſee them fall,  
       With both their houſes vile ?  
       Be cauſe they have deceiv'd us all,  
       Now Gregory they'll beguile.”

Sir John Birkenhead likewiſe mentions him, Paul's Church yard, cent. iii. claff. xiii. No. 68. Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms, was impoſed upon by Brook, a herald, who procured him by artifice to confirm arms to Gregory Brandon, who was found to be common hangman of London. Anſtis's Register of the Garter, vol. i. p. 399. And from him, probably, the hangman was called Gregory for ſome time. The name of Dun, which ſucceeded that of Gregory, is mentioned by Cotton, *Virgil Traveſtie*, publiſhed 1670, book iv. p. 124.

“ Away therefore my laſt does trot,  
       And preſently an halter got,



- 1525 For while we wrangle here, and jar,  
 W' are grilly'd all at Temple-bar ;  
 Some, on the sign-post of an ale-house,  
 Hang in effigy, on the gallows,  
 Made up of rags, to personate  
 1530 Respective officers of state,  
 That, henceforth, they may stand reputed,  
 Proscrib'd in law, and executed ;  
 And, while the work is carrying on,  
 Be ready list'd under Dun,

Made of the best string hempen teer,  
 And, ere a cat could lick her ear,  
 Had tied it up with as much art,  
 As Dun himself could do for's heart."

See Marquis of Argyle's Last Will and Testament, 1661, p. 5.

Nay, the name of Dun was continued to these finishers of the law (as they have sometimes affected to stile themselves, and squires by their office, from the confirmation, I suppose, of Gregory Brandon's arms) twelve years longer; when one Jack Ketch about threescore years ago was advanced to that office, who has left his name to his successors ever since. This appears from Butler's Ghost, published 1682: When the author wrote the former part of it, it is plain, that Dun was the executioner's name, or nick-name.

" For you yourself to act Squire Dun,  
 Such ignominy ne'er saw the sun." Butler's Ghost, p. 29.

But, before he had printed off his poem, Jack Ketch was in office.

" Till Ketch observing he was chous'd,  
 And in his profits much abus'd;  
 In open hall the tribune dun'd,  
 To do his office, or refund." Butler's Ghost, p. 54.

See Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 2, p. 5.

None of these in their office could come up to the Dutch headf-man, mentioned by Mr. Cleveland (Character of a London Diurnal), of whom it was reported, " That he would do his office with so much ease and dexterity, that the head after the execution should stand still upon the shoulders." Or to the executioner of Stockholm,

- 1535 That worthy patriot, once the bellows  
 And tinder-box of all his fellows;  
 The activ'st member of the five,  
 As well as the most primitive;  
 Who, for his faithful service then,  
 1540 Is chosen for a fifth again;  
 (For, since the state has made a quint  
 Of generals, he's lifted in't).

holm, who was condemned to that office at ten years old, for cutting off the head of another boy at play. A. de la Motraye's Travels, vol. ii. p. 361.

v. 1540. *Is chosen for a fifth again.*] Sir Arthur Hazlerig, one of the five members of the House of Commons, was impeached 1641 2. See Lord Clarendon, Echard, Rapin, &c. Sir Arthur Hazlerig (as Mr. Walker observes, History of Independency, part i. p. 173) was governor of Newcastle upon Tyne, had the Bishop of Durham's house, park, and manor of Aukland, and 6500l. in money given him. He died in the Tower of London, Jan. 8, 1661, Mercurius Publicus, No. 1, p. 16.

The writer of an elegy upon King Charles the first, 1648, p. 9, gives but a scurvy character of him, in the following lines:

“ Nor John of Leyden, whom the pillag'd quires  
 Employ'd in Munster for his own attires:  
 His pranks by Hazlerig exceeded be,  
 A wretch more wicked, and as mad as he;  
 Who once in triumph led his sumpter moils  
 Proudly bedecked with the altar's spoils.”

See Mercurius Rusticus, p. 143.

See his character, Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 718; Walker's History of Independency, part i. p. 29, part iv. p. 57, where he calls him a saint of the devil's last edition; a tract entitled, A true and exact Relation of the great and heavy pressures and Grievances the well affected northern bordering counties lie under by Sir Arthur Hazlerig's Misgovernment, by John Musgrave; London, printed anno dom. 1650; Lilly's Life, p. 48; Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 279.

v. 1541, 1542. ——— *a quint—Of generals.*] The Rump growing jealous of General Monk, ordered that the generalship should be vested in five commissioners, Monk, Hazlerig, Walton, Morley,

This worthy, as the world will say,  
Is paid in specie, his own way ;

1545 For, moulded to the life in clouts,  
Th' have pick'd from dung-hills hereabouts,  
He's mounted on a hazel bavin,  
A cropp'd malignant baker gave 'em :  
And to the largest bonfire riding,  
1550 Th' have roasted Cook already, and Pride in.

ley, and Alured, making three a quorum, but denying a motion that Monk should be of that quorum (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 881 ; Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. ii. 614) ; but their authority not being then much regarded, this order was not obeyed, and Monk continued sole General notwithstanding. See Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 830, &c.

v. 1547. *He's mounted on a hazel bavin.*] Alluding to Hazlerig's name. *Bavin* signifies a brush faggot.

" It yearly costs five hundred pounds besides  
To fence the town from Hull and Humber's tides,  
For stakes, for bavins, timber, stones, and piles," &c.

J. Taylor's Merry Wherry Voyage, Works, p. 13.

Shakespeare uses the word in his First Part of Henry IV. act iii. vol. iii. p. 400, where the King, speaking of Richard II. says,

" The skipping King, he ambled up and down,  
With shallow jesters, and rash bavin wits,  
Soon kindled, and soon burnt."

See Mr. Peck's Note, New Memoirs of Milton's Life, p. 246.

v. 1550. *Th' have roasted Cook.*] The wicked wretch who acted as solicitor in the King's trial, and drew up a charge of high treason against him, and had drawn up a formal plea against him, in case he had submitted to the jurisdiction of the court. At his own trial he pleaded, that what he did was as a lawyer for his fee. He deservedly suffered at Tyburn as a regicide. (See Lord Clarendon and Mr. Echard.)

" When Pluto keeps his feast,  
The rogues must all appear,  
And Mr. Scot, I had forgot.  
Must taste of this good chear:

On whom, in equipage and state,  
 His scare-crow fellow-members wait,  
 And march in order, two and two,  
 As, at thanksgivings, th' us'd to do ;  
 1555 Each in a tatter'd talisman,  
 Like vermin in effigie slain.

But (what's more dreadful than the rest)  
 Those rumps are but the tail o' th' beast,  
 Set up by Popish engineers,  
 1560 As by the crackers plainly appears ;  
 For none but Jesuits have a mission  
 To preach the faith with ammunition,  
 And propagate the church with powder ;  
 Their founder was a blown-up soldier.  
 1565 These spiritual pioneers o' th' whore's,  
 That have the charge of all her stores,  
 Since first they fail'd in their designs,  
 To take in heaven, by springing mines,  
 And, with unanswerable barrels

Find out the man, quoth Pluto,  
 That is the greatest sinner ;  
 If Cook be he, then Cook shall be  
 The cook to cook my dinner."

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 13.

v. 1564. *Their founder was a blown up soldier.*] \* Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the society of the Jesuits, was a gentleman of Biscay in Spain, and bred a soldier ; was at Pampelune when it was besieged by the French, in the year 1521, and was so very lame in both feet, by the damage he sustained there, that he was forced to keep his bed. Vide Ignatii Vit. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 279.

v. 1568. *By springing mines.*] Alluding to the gun powder treason, conducted by the Jesuits. (Mr.W.)

v. 1574.



- 1570 Of gunpowder, dispute their quarrels ;  
 Now take a course more practicable,  
 By laying trains to fire the rabble,  
 And blow us up, in th' open streets,  
 Disguis'd in rumps, like Sambenites ;
- 1575 More like to ruin, and confound,  
 Than all their doctrines under ground,  
 Nor have they chosen rumps amiss,  
 For symbols of state-mysteries ;  
 Though some suppose 'twas but to shew
- 1580 How much they scorn'd the saints, the few ;  
 Who, 'cause they're wasted to the stumps,  
 Are represented best by rumps.  
 But Jesuits have deeper reaches  
 In all their politic far-fetches :
- 1585 And from the Coptic priest, Kircherus,  
 Found out this mystic way to jeer us.  
 For, as th' Egyptians us'd by bees  
 T' express their antique Ptolemies ;

v. 1574. *Disguis'd in rumps, like Sambenites.*] Sambenito, a coat of coarse cloth, in which penitents are reconciled to the church of Rome ; and prisoners wear it sometimes for a year in prison. It is also (as here meant) a coat of coarse canvass, painted with devils and ugly shapes, which persons condemned for heresy by the Spanish Inquisition wear when they go to execution. See *Discovery of the Inquisition*, by Reginaldus Gonsalvus Montanus, 1568, fol. 45 ; *Limborch's History of the Inquisition*, translated by Mr. Chandler, vol. ii. p. 295 ; Mr. Baker's *History of the Inquisition*, chap. vii. p. 44, 360, 480, 506 ; *Don Quixote*, vol. iv. p. 682.

v. 1585. *And, from the Coptic priest, Kircherus.*] Athanasius Kircher, a Jesuit, hath wrote largely on the Egyptian mystical learning. *Kirkerus* in the two first editions.

v. 1587. *For, as the Egyptians us'd by bees, &c.*] \* The Egyptians

And, by their stings, the swords they wore,  
 1590 Held forth authority and power :  
 Because these subtle animals  
 Bear all their int'rests in their tails ;  
 And, when they're once impair'd in that,  
 Are banish'd their well-order'd state :  
 1595 They thought all governments were best  
 By hieroglyphic rumps express'd.  
 For, as, in bodies natural,  
 The rump's the fundament of all ;  
 So, in a common-wealth, or realm,  
 1600 The government is call'd the helm ;  
 With which, like vessels under sail,  
 They're turn'd and winded by the tail,  
 The tail, which birds and fishes steer

tians represented their kings (many of whose names were Ptolemy) under the hieroglyphic of a bee, dispensing honey to the good and virtuous, and having a sting for the wicked and dissolute.

v. 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594. *Because these subtle animals—Bear all their int'rests in their tails ;—And, when they're once impair'd in that,—Are banish'd their well order'd state.*]

“ Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent.”

Virgilii Georgic. lib. iv. 163.

“ All with united force combine to drive  
 The lazy drones from the laborious hive.” Dryden.

Virgil observes of them (Georgic. lib. iv. 236, 237, 238) that they instantly die upon the loss of their stings :

“ Illis ira modum supra est, læsæque venenum  
 Moribus inspirant, et spicula cæca relinquunt  
 Affixa venis, animasque in vulnere ponunt.”

“ Prone to revenge, the bees, a wrathful race,  
 When once provok'd, assault the aggressor's face :  
 And through the purple veins a passage find,  
 There fix their stings, and leave their souls behind.” Dryd.

See

Their courses with, through sea and air;  
 1605 To whom the rudder of the rump is  
 The same thing with the stern and compass.  
 This shews how perfectly the rump  
 And common-wealth in nature jump.

For as a fly that goes to bed  
 1610 Rests with his tail above his head;  
 So, in this mongrel state of ours,  
 The rabble are the supreme powers;  
 That hors'd us on their backs, to show us  
 A jadish trick at last, and throw us.

1615 The learned Rabbins of the Jews  
 Write there's a bone, which they call *luez*,  
 I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,

See Æsop's Fable of Jupiter and the Bee, L'Estrange's Fables, part i. fab. 125; Moufeti *Insectorum Theatr.* p. 9.

v. 1606. ———— *and compass.*] The compass, or magnetic needle, first found out in Europe by John or Flavio Gioia, of the city Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples. Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. i. p. 35; Hearne's *System of Universal History*, vol. i. p. 80, ann. 1302.

v. 1609, 1610. *For as a fly that goes to bed—Rests with his tail above his head, &c.*] This is literally true.

v. 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618. *The learned rabbins of the Jews—Write, there's a bone, which they call luez,—I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,—No force in nature can do hurt to.*] Buxtorf, in *Lexic. Chaldaic, Talmud. & Rabbin.* Col. 12, under the word *לז*, Luz, thus writes, “Nomen ossis cujusdam in corpore humano, quod scribunt Hæbræi incorruptibile,” &c. for which he quotes several rabbinical authors. (Mr. Professor Chapelow.) “When Adrianus was bruising of bones, he asked R. Jeholhuang, the son of Hhaninah, and said to him, From what will God at the latter end revive man? He said, from Luz of the back-bone. (Luz is a little bone, in the shape of an almond, or hazel-nut, standing at the bottom of the back-bone, R. Solmon.) He said to him, whence dost thou know it? He answered, Get it me, and  
 I will

No force in nature can do hurt to ;  
 And therefore, at the last great day,  
 1620 All th' other members shall, they say,  
 Spring out of this, as from a seed  
 All sorts of vegetals proceed :  
 From whence the learned sons of art,  
*Os sacrum*, justly style that part.  
 1625 Then what can better represent,

I will inform you : Adrianus procured one, and he (R. Jehoshu-ang) endeavoured to grind it in a mill, but it would not grind : He endeavoured to burn it in a fire, but it would not burn : He put it into water, and it was not dissolved : He put it upon a garment, and struck it with a hammer, but the garment was rent, and the hammer split, and it (the bone) was not diminished." A translation from Bereschith Rabboth, sect 28; by Mr. Israel Lyon. See Dr. Pocock's annotations on *Porta Mosis*, p. 169, Dr. Twells's edition.

Mohammed taught his followers something to this purpose. See Sales's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran, p. 79.

v. 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622. *And therefore, at the last great day,—All th' other members shall, they say,—Spring out of this, as from a seed—All sorts of vegetals proceed*] The learned Mr. John Gregory, of Oxford, in his sermon upon the Resurrection (Notes and observations upon some passages of scripture, 1684, p. 70), where he is proving the resurrection of the same body, informs us, " That a learned chemist, who spent much time in the contemplation of tinctures, and the impression of vegetables, to prove the great principle of salt, made this experiment : He took several herbs and plants, and calcined them to ashes; he put up the ashes into several glasses sealed hermetically, and written upon with the several names of the calcined herbs : When he would shew the experiment, he applied a soft flame to the glasses, where forthwith he might perceive the self-same herbs rising up by little and little out of the ashes, every one in his proper form; and, the flame subtracted, they would return to their chaos again."

Philip Skippon, Esq. in his journey through part of the Low Countries, &c. (Churchill's Collections, vol. vi. p. 717), makes mention of one Baldisti, a chemist, who bragged, that he could discover the name of any plant, only by seeing the fixed salt of it.

If



Than this rump-bone, the parliament;  
 That, after several rude ejections,  
 And as prodigious resurrections,  
 With new reversions of nine lives,  
 1630 Starts up, and, like a cat, revives?  
 But now, alas! they're all expir'd,  
 And th' house, as well as members, fir'd;

If four thousand were brought one after another, he could distinguish them.——That he had an universal liquor, that would produce any plant out of its fixed salt." See a curious dissertation, Tatler, No. 119.

v. 1626. *Than this rump-bone, the parliament.*] See the reason why those few members of the House of Commons, after they had secluded their fellow members, to make way for the King's trial, were called a Rump, or sag-end of a parliament, Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 32. part iii. p. 35. 75; Heath's Chronicle, p. 422; Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 53; Lilly's History of his own Life and Times, p. 84.

"The Rump's an old story if well understood;  
 'Tis a thing dress'd up in a parliament's hood,  
 And like't, but the tail stands where the head should,  
   Which no body can deny."  
 'Twould make a man scratch where it does not itch,  
 To see forty fools heads in one politic breech;  
 And that hugging the nation, as the devil did the witch."

A New-year's Gift for the Rump, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. i. p. 44. See many songs upon the Rump, vol. ib. No. 7, 10, &c.

v. 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630. *That, after sev'ral rude ejections,—And as prodigious resurrections,—With new reversions of nine lives,—Starts up———.*] The Rump was ejected by Oliver Cromwell and his officers, April 1653, restored the 6th of May 1659, turned out again the 13th of October, and restored the 26th of December. See Foulis's History of the Wicked Plots, &c. p. 126, 127; Walker's History of Independency, part iv. p. 24, 39, 68, 82; Re-resurrection of the Rump, Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 10.

"Then a pox light on the pitiful Rump,  
 That a third time above-board vapors;  
 Which Old Nick blew out, but now turns up trump,  
 As Joan farted in and out tapers."  
   Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 138.

v. 1630.

Consum'd in kennels by the rout,  
 With which they other fires put out :  
 1635 Condemn'd t' ungoverning distrefs,  
 And paultry private wretchednefs;  
 Worfe than the devil to privation,  
 Beyond all hopes of reftoration :  
 And parted, like the body and foul,  
 1640 From all dominion and controul.

We, who could lately, with a look,  
 Enact, eftablifh, or revoke ;  
 Whofe arbitrary nods gave law,  
 And frowns kept multitudes in awe ;  
 1645 Before the blufter of whofe huff,  
 All hats, as in a ftorm, flew off :  
 Ador'd and bow'd to, by the great,

v. 1630. ———— *and, like a cat revives.*] “Care will kill a cat, and yet a cat is faid to have nine lives.” Ray’s Proverbial Sentences.

v. 1655, 1656. *For fome of us have fcores more large—Than heads and quarters can difcharge.*] John Taylor, the water-poet (fee Revenge, to William Fenner, Works, p. 146) has blazoned the arms of fuch villains as thefe :

“ ———— I hope

Thou wilt conclude thy roguery in a rope :  
 Three trees, two rampant, and the other croffant,  
 One halter pendant, and a ladder paffant.  
 In a field azure, clouded like the fky,  
 Becauſe ’twixt earth and air I hope thou’lt die ;  
 Theſe arms for thee my muſe hath heraldiz’d,  
 And, to exalt thee, them ſhe hath devis’d :  
 Then when thou bid’ſt the world the laſt good night,  
 I ſquint upright, and ſay, Gallows, claim thy right.”

See ſong, entitled, A Quarrel betwixt Tower-hill and Tyburn, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 2.

v. 1661, 1662. *And, to be but undone, entail—Their veſſels on perpetual jail.*] See Sir Roger L’Eſtrange’s Apology, p. 51. This the regicides, in general, would have done gladly, but the ring-leaders

Down to the footman and valet ;  
 Had more bent knees than chapel-mats,  
 1650 And prayers, than the crowns of hats ;  
 Shall now be scorn'd as wretchedly,  
 For ruin's just as low as high ;  
 Which might be suffer'd, were it all  
 The horror that attends our fall :  
 1655 For some of us have scores more large  
 Than heads and quarters can discharge :  
 And others, who, by restless scraping,  
 With public frauds, and private rapine,  
 Have mighty heaps of wealth amass'd,  
 1660 Would gladly lay down all at last :  
 And, to be but undone, entail  
 Their vessels on perpetual jail ;

leaders of them were executed in terrorem : Those that came in upon proclamation, were brought to the bar of the House of Lords, 25th November 1661, to answer what they could say for themselves, why judgment should not be executed against them ? They severally alledged, " That, upon his Majesty's gracious declaration from Breda, and the votes of the parliament, &c. they did render themselves, being advised, that they should thereby secure their lives ; and humbly craved the benefit of the proclamation, &c. And Harry Martin briskly added, That he had never obeyed any proclamation before this, and hoped he should not be hanged for taking the King's word now. A bill was brought in for their execution, which was read twice, but afterwards dropped, and so they were all sent to their several prisons, and little more heard of." Echard's History of England, vol. iii. p. 68. Ludlow, and some others, escaped by flying among the Swiss Cantons.

Diodorus Siculus observes of the Egyptians (Rer. Antiquar. lib. iv. cap. i.), that amongst them it was reckoned dishonourable to commute death with banishment. " Commutare mortem exilio, veluti mos est apud Græcos, nefas habitur : Ferunt quendam, misso ad se mortis signo, cogitasse ex Ethiopia fugere : Quod præsentis mater, zonâ ad filii collum positâ, nequaquam manibus reniti ausum, ne suis dedecori esset, strangulasse."

And blefs the devil to let them farms  
Of forfeit fouls, on no worfe terms.

1665 This faid, a near and louder fhout  
Put all th' affembly to the rout,  
Who now begun t' out-run their fear,  
As horfes do, from thofe they bear :  
But crowded on with fo much hafte,  
1670 Until th' had block'd the paffage faft,  
And barricado'd it with haunches  
Of outward men, and bulks and paunches,

v. 1665, 1666. *This faid, a near and louder fhout—Put all th' affembly to the rout.*] When Sir Martyn came to this cabal, he left the rabble at Temple-bar; but, by the time he had concluded his difcourfe, they were advanced near Whitehall and Weftminfter.—This alarmed our caballers, and perhaps terrified them with the apprehenfion of being hanged or burnt in reality, as fome of them that very infant were in effigy. No wonder therefore they broke up fo precipitately, and that each endeavoured to fecure himfelf.—Themanner of it is defcribed with a poetical licence, only to embellish this Canto with a diverting catastrophe. (Mr. B.)

v. 1671. *And barricado'd it with haunches, &c.*] See a merry defcription of a fat man in a crowd, Preface to a Tale of a Tub, p. 21; Dr. Swift's Intelligencer, No. 13, p. 143.

v. 1689, 1690. *And beat a Tufcan running horfe,—Whofe jockey-rider is all furs.*] My worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. William Smith, Rector of St. Mary's in the town of Bedford, communicated the following note upon thefe two lines :

The anniverfary of the Pope's coronation is celebrated at Rome with univerfal feftivity, and concludes at night with a coltly and extraordinary fire-work, which is played off from the top of the caftle of St. Angelo, and, diftributes rockets in the air all around, into various forms, of crowns, fcepters, &c. in a moft furprifing manner. Amongft the other diverfions of the day, is a horfe-race in one of the longeft ftreets of the city, to which refort a vaft number of well-dreffed gentlemen and fine ladies: particularly, the Cardinal Protector for the Englifh nation does then hire a houfe for the day in that ftreet, where he entertains fuch of our country-men as will favour him with their company, with an elegant re-

gale



That with their shoulders strove to squeeze,  
And rather save a crippled piece

1675 Of all their crush'd and broken members,  
Than have them grill'd on the embers;  
Still pressing on with heavy packs,  
Of one another, on their backs :

The van-guard could no longer bear

1680 The charges of the forlorn rear,  
But, borne down headlong by the rout,  
Were trampled sorely under foot :  
Yet nothing prov'd so formidable,  
As the horrid cookery of the rabble :

gale of rich wines, and all sorts of sweetmeats, &c. and, from the windows of the balconies, they and indeed all other persons of quality and distinction have the pleasure of seeing the race, which is performed in the following manner:

The horses, without being saddled, are placed exactly all together abreast, and so held by the bridle. There is a girth goes round each of their bodies, to which, upon the top of their backs, is fastened a thin plate of polished steel, about two inches in breadth, and a foot long, in the shape of an arch, which is so pliable as to rise up and fall down again towards the hinder part of the horse at his least motion, at the extremity whereof hangs a bunch of very sharp spurs; these spurs are held up from touching the horse by a groom, who, upon the signal for starting, lets them fall down and prick his back, upon which all the horses immediately start, and the faster they run, the faster do the spurs prick them.

There are persons at the end of the race ready to lift up the spurs, take them off from the girths, and lead the horses home by the bridle.

I suppose Tuscany breeds the best Italian race-horses; which induced Mr. Butler to use the term of Tuscan horse. And this seems to be confirmed by Sir William Davenant, who, speaking of Gartha, one of his heroines, Gondib. part ii. cant. ii. p.384, says,

“ To Brescia's camp her course she had design'd,

And bids her Tuscan charioteer drive on,

As if her steeds were dieted with wind,

Slow seems their speed whose thoughts before them run.”

1685 And fear, that keeps all feeling out,  
As leffer pains are by the gout,  
Reliev'd 'em with a fresh supply  
Of rallied force, enough to fly,  
And beat a Tuscan running-horse,  
1690 Whose jockey-rider is all spurs.

The Rev. Dr. Dighton of Newmarket (as I am informed by the Rev. Mr. Smith of Harleston) has the picture of one of these horses: There is a line full of spurs reaching from mane to tail.

The horse-race in the street Del Corso, at Rome, during the time of the carnival, is performed much in the same manner.

A. de la Motraye (see Travels, vol. i. chap. iv. p. 58) observes, "That two bags stuffed with straw, one on the top of the other, in the top of a wallet, with little pointed wires, like the bristles of a hedge-hog, are tied on the horse's back, and hang down upon his flanks; then they whip two or three of them together, and so let them go; and the motion of their running flirring their bristles, and (as it were) spurring them, increases the speed."



# H U D I B R A S.

## PART III. CANTO III.

## ARGUMENT.

*The Knight and Squire's prodigious flight,  
To quit th' enchanted bow'r by night.  
He plods to turn his amorous suit  
T' a plea in law, and prosecute :  
Repairs to counsel, to advise  
'Bout managing the enterprize ;  
But first resolves to try by letter,  
And one more fair address, to get her.*





### PART III. CANTO III.

Who would believe what strange bugbears  
Mankind creates itself, of fears,  
That spring, like fern, that insect weed,  
Equivocally, without seed?

Our poet now resumes his principal subject; and the reason why he is so full in the recapitulation of the last adventure of our Knight and Squire is, because we had lost sight of our heroes for the space of the longest canto in the whole poem. This respite might probably occasion forgetfulness in some readers, whose attention had been so long suspended: it was therefore necessary that a repetition should be made of the dark adventure, and that it should be made clear and intelligible to the reader. (Mr. B.)

v. 3, 4. *That spring, like fern, that insect weed,—Equivocally, without seed.*] Pliny affirms the same of two sorts of fern (Hist. Nat. lib. xxvii. cap. 9). “*Filicis duo genera nec florem habent, nec semen.*”

- 5 And have no possible foundation,  
 But merely in th' imagination,  
 And yet can do more dreadful feats  
 Than hags, with all their imps and teats;  
 Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,  
 10 Than all their nurseries of elves.  
 For fear does things so like a witch,  
 'Tis hard t' unriddle which is which;  
 Sets up communities of senses,  
 To chop and change intelligences;  
 15 As Rosicrucian virtuosos  
 Can see with ears, and hear with noses;  
 And, when they neither see nor hear,  
 Have more than both supply'd by fear;  
 That makes 'em in the dark see visions,  
 20 And hag themselves with apparitions;

Shakespeare seems to banter this opinion (1st part of Henry IV. act ii. vol. iii. p. 368).

Gadshill to the Chamberlain.

"We steal as in a castle, cock-sure, we have the receipt of fern-feed, we walk invisible."

Dr. Derham (*Phyfico-Theology*, b. x. p. 410, 7th edit.) disproves this opinion: "Filicem reliquasque capillares herbas femine carere veteres plerique—prodidere: Quos etiam secuti sunt e recentioribus nonnulli, Dodoneus, &c.—Alii e contra, Bauhinus, &c. Filices, et congeneres, spermatophoras esse contendunt: Partim, quia historia creationis, Gen. ii. 12, &c. verissimam esse Autopsia convincit."

Fredericus Cæsius, he saith, was the first that discovered these seeds by the help of a microscope, and since him Mr. W. C. (Wil. Cole) hath more critically observed them. See more p. 410, 414.

v. 8. *Than hags, with all their imps and teats.*] \* Alluding to the vulgar opinion, that witches have their imps, or familiar spirits,  
 that

And, when their eyes discover least,  
 Discern the subtlest objects best:  
 Do things, not contrary, alone,  
 To th' course of nature, but its own;  
 25 The courage of the bravest daunt,  
 And turn poltroons as valiant:  
 For men as resolute appear,  
 With too much, as too little fear;  
 And, when they're out of hopes of flying,  
 30 Will run away from death by dying;  
 Or turn again to stand it out,  
 And those they fled, like lions, rout.

This Hudibras had prov'd too true,  
 Who, by the furies, left perdue,  
 35 And haunted with detachments, sent  
 From Marshal Legion's regiment,

that are employed in their diabolical practices, and suck private teats they have about them."

v. 10. *Than all their nurseries of elves.*] A sneer upon the tales of fairies told to children in the nursery.

v. 15. *As Rosicrucian virtuosos, &c.*] \* The Rosicrucians were a sect that appeared in Germany in the beginning of the seventeenth age. They are also called the enlightened, immortal, and invisible; they are a very enthusiastical sort of men, and hold many wild and extravagant opinions. The Rosicrucian philosophers held a millennium. Vid. Jo. Garhardi Loc. Theologic. tom. ix. col. 331.

v. 36. *From Marshal Legion's regiment.*] Alluding to Stephen Marshal's bellowing out treason from the pulpit, in order to recruit the army of the rebels. He was called the Geneva bull.

"Or roar, like Marshal, that Geneva bull,  
 Hell and damnation, a pulpit full."

Cleveland's Rebel Scot, Works, 1677, p. 49; and Dr. Bruno-Ryves,

- Was by a fiend, as counterfeit,  
 Reliev'd and rescu'd with a cheat;  
 When nothing but himself, and fear,  
 40 Was both the imps and conjurer:  
 As, by the rules o' th' virtuosi,  
 It follows in due form of poesy.
- Disguis'd in all the masks of night,  
 We left our champion on his flight,  
 45 At blindman's buff, to grope his way,  
 In equal fear of night and day;  
 Who took his dark and desp'rate course,  
 He knew no better than his horse;  
 And by an unknown devil led,  
 50 (He knew as little whither) fled,  
 He never was in greater need,  
 Nor less capacity of speed;  
 Disabled, both in man and beast,  
 To fly and run away, his best:  
 55 To keep the enemy, and fear,  
 From equal falling on his rear,

Mercurius Rusticus, p. 155, calls him the Arch Flamen of the rebels. See a further account of him, Walker's History of Independence, part i. p. 79, 80.

v. 59, 60. *As seamen ride with all their force,—And tug as if they row'd the horse.*] John Taylor, the water poet (in his tract, entitled, A Navy of Land Ships, p. 87) banters the seamen, as bad horsemen. He observes, "That mariners are commonly the worst horsemen. As one of them being upon a tired hackney, his companions prayed him to ride faster, he said, he was becalmed: Another mounted upon a foundered jade that stumbled three or four times headlong; the sailor imagined, that his horse was too much laden a-head, or forward on (as the sea phrase is), and therefore to ballast him, that he might go or sail with an even



- And though with kicks and bangs he ply'd  
 The farther and the nearer side,  
 (As seamen ride with all their force,  
 60 And tug as if they row'd the horse,  
 And, when the hackney fails most swift,  
 Believe they lag, or run a-drift)  
 So, though he posted e'er so fast,  
 His fear was greater than his haste:  
 65 For fear, though fleetier than the wind,  
 Believes 'tis always left behind.  
 But when the morn began t' appear,  
 And shift t' another scene his fear,  
 He found his new officious shade,  
 70 That came so timely to his aid,  
 And forc'd him from the foe t' escape,  
 Had turn'd itself to Ralpho's shape,  
 So like in person, garb, and pitch,  
 'Twas hard t' interpret which was which.  
 75 For Ralpho had no sooner told  
 The Lady all he had t' unfold,

even keel, he alighted, and filled his jerkin sleeves full of stones, and tied them fast to his horse's crupper, supposing thereby to make his stern as deep laden as his head, to avoid stumbling."

v. 67. *But when the morn began to appear.*] I have before observed, that we may trace our heroes morning and night: This particular is always essential in poetry, to avoid confusion and disputes among the critics. How would they have calculated the number of days taken up in the Iliad, Æneid, and Paradise Lost, if the poets had not been careful to lead them into the momentous discovery? Mr. Butler is as clear in this point as any of them: For, from opening of these adventures, every morning and night have been poetically described; and now we are arrived at the third day. (Mr. B.)

- But she convey'd him out of sight,  
 To entertain the approaching Knight ;  
 And while he gave himself diversion,  
 80 T' accommodate his beast and person,  
 And put his beard into a posture  
 At best advantage to accost her,  
 She order'd th' antimasquerade  
 (For his reception) aforefaid :
- 85 But when the ceremony was done,  
 The lights put out, and furies gone,  
 And Hudibras, among the rest,  
 Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess'd,  
 The wretched caitiff, all alone,
- 90 (As he believ'd) began to moan,  
 And tell his story to himself,  
 The Knight mistook him for an elf;  
 And did so still, till he began  
 To scruple at Ralph's outward man,
- 95 And thought, because they oft agreed  
 T' appear in one another's stead,

v. 88. *But she convoy'd him, &c.* first edit. 1678, altered 1684 to *convey'd*.

v. 102, 103, 104. *He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,—What art ? My Squire, or that bold spright—That took his place and shape to night ?*] Here is an amazing discovery opened: The Knight's dreadful apprehensions vanish with the night: No sooner does the day break, but with joy he perceives his mistake: He finds Ralpho in his company instead of an elf or a ghost: Upon this he is agreeably surpris'd, as he was before terribly affrighted. But let us examine whether this meeting, and the reconciliation that follows it, are naturally brought about; since the day before they had mutually resolved to abandon each other. I think he hath judiciously formed this incident: For it is plain the Knight and the Squire were conscious they had wronged one another, the one by his base intentions, and the other by his treachery and gross imposition: But very fortunately they were ignorant of each

And act the faint's and devil's part,  
 With undistinguishable art,  
 They might have done so now, perhaps,  
 100 And put on one another's shapes;  
 And therefore, to resolve the doubt,  
 He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,  
 What art? My Squire, or that bold spright  
 That took his place and shape to night?  
 105 Some busy Independent pug,  
 Retainer to his synagogue?  
 Alas! quoth he, I'm none of those  
 Your bosom friends, as you suppose;  
 But Ralph himself, your trusty Squire,  
 110 Wh' has dragg'd your Donship out o' th' mire,  
 And from th' enchantments of a widow,  
 Wh' had turn'd you int' a beast, have freed you,  
 And, though a prisoner of war,  
 Have brought you safe, where now you are,  
 115 Which you would gratefully repay  
 Your constant Presbyterian way.

each other's designs; and, consequently, each thought himself the offender: It is therefore natural and probable, that they should easily come to a good understanding. The Knight compounds with the Squire for his imposition as a ghost, not only from a sense of his own base intentions, but for the happy escape from witches, spirits, and elves, from which the Squire pretends to have freed him. On the other hand, the Squire is willing to re-enter to the Knight's service, and to attend him once more in his peregrinations, when he found this sham meritorious action had deluded him into a suspension of that resentment which he might justly have exerted: Thus are they fortunately reconciled, and thus are these momentous adventures continued, to the satisfaction of the reader, and applause of the poet. (Mr. B.) *Spright* in all editions to 1726 inclusive, *Spright*, edition 1739.

v. 110. — *Dunship*, in all editions to 1710. *Donship* in later editions.

That's stranger (quoth the Knight) and stranger  
Who gave thee notice of my danger? [ger:

Quoth he, The infernal conjurer

120 Pursu'd, and took me prisoner;

And, knowing you were hereabout,

Brought me along, to find you out;

Where I, in hugger-mugger hid,

Have noted all they said or did;

125 And, though they lay to him the pageant,

I did not see him, nor his agent,

Who play'd their sorceries out of sight,

T' avoid a fiercer second fight.

But didst thou see no devils then?

130 Not one (quoth he) but carnal men,

A little worse than fiends in hell,

v. 132. *And that she-devil Jezebel.*] See Spectator's description of a Jezebel, No. 175.

v. 137. *A rallying weaver in the town.*] See Mr. Butler's Fable of the Lion and the Fox, Remains.

v. 145, 146. ——— *than the rev'rend writer,—That to our churches veil'd his mitre.*] Though there were more than one in those times that this character would have suited, yet it is probable, that Mr. George Grahame, Bishop of Orkney, is sneered in this place by Mr. Butler. He was so base as to renounce and abjure Episcopacy, signing the abjuration with his own hand, at Breckness in Strones, February 11, 1639. See Mr. Gordon's History of the illustrious Family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 315. To this remarkable incident Bishop Hall alludes (Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his Episcopacy by Divine Right, &c. 1640, p. 1), where he observes, "That he craved pardon for having accepted his Episcopal function, as if he had thereby committed some heinous offence." Upon which he uses the following exclamation, (Episcopacy, &c. p. 1); "Good God, what is this that I have lived to hear? That a bishop, in a Christian assembly, should renounce his Episcopal function, and cry mercy for his now abandoned



And that she-devil Jezebel,  
That laugh'd and tee-he'd with derision,  
To see them take your deposition.

- 135 What then (quoth Hudibras) was he,  
That play'd the dev'l to examine me?  
A rallying weaver in the town,  
That did it in a parson's gown;  
Whom all the parish takes for gifted,  
140 But, for my part, I ne'er believ'd it:  
In which you told them all your feats,  
Your conscientious frauds and cheats,  
Deny'd your whipping, and confess'd  
The naked truth of all the rest;  
145 More plainly than the reverend writer,  
That to our churches veil'd his mitre;

done calling." See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. last edit. p. 957; Nalson's Collections, vol. i. p. 252.

There was another Scotchman, Archibald Adair, Bishop of Killala in Ireland, who was deprived of his bishopric, for speaking in favour of the rebellious Scotch covenanters; but was promoted to the see of Waterford after the Earl of Strafford's death. Carte's History of the Life of James the first Duke of Ormond, vol. i. p. 95, 193.

The writer of the printed notes insinuates, "that the Archbishop of York is here intended:" But he is certainly mistaken; for Archbishop Williams was as much hated by the fanatics of those times as any one of his order. In a libel, entitled, *The Character of an Oxford Incendiary*, p. 4, he is treated in the following indecent manner: "And now we talk of preferment, enter Owen Glendour on horseback, Brute's cousin-german, and top of his kindred, Welsh Williams, prelate of York: This is the pepper-nosed Caliph, that snuffs, puffs, and huffs ingratitude to the parliament, though they freed him from prison, and put his adversary in his room: Tell him of reformation, and you transform him into a turkey-cock: A jack of lent, made of a leek

All which they took in black and white,  
And cudgell'd me to underwrite.

What made thee, when they all were gone,  
150 And none, but thou and I alone,  
To act the devil, and forbear  
To rid me of my hellish fear?

Quoth he, I knew your constant rate,  
And frame of sp'rit too obstinate,  
155 To be by me prevail'd upon,  
With any motives of my own;  
And therefore strove to counterfeit  
The devil a-while, to nick your wit;  
The devil, that is your constant crony,  
160 That only can prevail upon ye:  
Else we might still have been disputing,  
And they with weighty drubs confuting.

The Knight, who now began to find  
Th' had left the enemy behind,  
165 And saw no further harm remain,  
But feeble weariness and pain,  
Perceiv'd, by losing of their way,  
Th' had gain'd the advantage of the day,  
And, by declining of the road,  
170 They had, by chance, their rear made good;  
He ventur'd to dismiss his fear,  
That partings wont to rant and tear,

leek and red-berring, will not more inflame him, than the name  
of prebtytery."

And I find, in an original letter in Dr. William's MS. collec-  
tions,

- And give the desperat'ft attack  
To danger ftill behind its back.
- 175 For, having paus'd to recollect,  
And on his paft fuccesfs reflect,  
T' examine and confider why,  
And whence, and how he came to fly,  
And when no devil had appear'd,
- 180 What elfe, it could be faid, he fear'd;  
It put him in fo fierce a rage,  
He once resolv'd to re-engage,  
Tofs'd like a foot-ball back again,  
With fhame, and vengeance, and difdain.
- 185 Quoth he, It was thy cowardice,  
That made me from this leaguer rife;  
And, when I 'ad half reduc'd the place,  
To quit it infamoufly bafe;  
Was better cover'd by the new
- 190 Arriv'd detachment, than I knew;  
To flight my new acquefts, and run,  
Victoriously, from battles won,  
And, reck'ning all I gain'd or loft,  
To fell them cheaper than they coft;
- 195 To make me put myfelf to flight,  
And, conqu'ring, run away by night;  
To drag me out, which th' haughty foe  
Durft never have prefum'd to do;

tions, from Sir William Breerton to the fpeaker, a complaint againft the Archbishop of York, the Bifhops of Chefter, St. Afaph, and Bangor, for fortifying Conway caftle againft the parliament.

To mount me in the dark by force,  
 200 Upon the bare ridge of my horse,  
 Expos'd in querpo to their rage,  
 Without my arms and equipage;  
 Left, if they ventur'd to pursue,  
 I might the unequal fight renew;  
 205 And, to preserve thy outward man,  
 Assum'd my place, and led the van.

All this, quoth Ralph, I did, 'tis true,  
 Not to preserve myself, but you.  
 You, who were damn'd to baser drubs  
 210 Than wretches feel in powd'ring tubs,  
 To mount two-wheel'd carroches, worse  
 Than managing a wooden horse;  
 Dragg'd out through straiter holes by th' ears,  
 Eras'd, or coup'd for perjurers;  
 215 Who, though th' attempt had prov'd in vain,  
 Had had no reason to complain:  
 But, since it prosper'd, 'tis unhandsome  
 To blame the hand that paid your ransom,  
 And rescu'd your obnoxious bones  
 220 From unavoidable battoons,

v. 211. *To mount two wheel'd carroches.*] A cart in which criminals are carried to be hanged. Dr. Baillie, in his *Wall-flower*, written in Newgate, and published 1650, p. 60, uses the word *caroach* for coach.

v. 243. *For those that fly may fight again.*] A saying of Demosthenes, who fled from Philip of Macedon, when he obtained a great victory over the Athenians at Cheronæa, a village of Bœotia; and, being reproached for it, he made the following answer.

Αντρ,



The enemy was reinforc'd,  
 And we disabled, and unhors'd,  
 Difarm'd, unqualify'd for fight,  
 And no way left but hasty flight,  
 225 Which, though as desp'rate in the attempt,  
 Has given you freedom to condemn't.

But, were our bones in fit condition  
 To reinforce the expedition,  
 'Tis now unseasonable and vain,  
 230 To think of falling on again :  
 No martial project to surprize  
 Can ever be attempted twice ;  
 Nor cast design serve afterwards,  
 As gamesters tear their losing cards.

235 Beside, our bangs of man and beast  
 Are fit for nothing now but rest ;  
 And for a while will not be able  
 To rally, and prove serviceable :  
 And therefore I, with reason, chose  
 240 This stratagem, t' amuse our foes,  
 To make an honourable retreat,  
 And wave a total sure defeat :  
 For those that fly may fight again,  
 Which he can never do that's slain.

Ανὴρ, inquit, ο φευγων, — πάλιν μαχησέσθαι. Auli Gellii Noct.  
 Attic. lib. xvii. 21. See a farther account of the cowardice of De-  
 mosthenes, Diodori Siculi Bibliothec. p. 380. " Be pacified  
 (says the curate to Don Quixote, upon one of his misadventures,  
 vol. i. p. 56), " Fortune may have yet better success in reserve  
 for you ; and they who lose to-day may win to morrow." Of  
 Demosthenes's opinion was the cowardly soldier (see L'Estrange's  
 Fables, part ii. fab. 59), " who, being tried by a council of war,  
 for

- 245 Hence timely running's no mean part  
 Of conduct in the martial art;  
 By which some glorious feats atchieve,  
 As citizens, by breaking, thrive,  
 And cannons conquer armies, while  
 250 They seem to draw off and recoil;  
 Is held the gallantest course, and bravest,  
 To great exploits, as well as safest;  
 That spares th' expence of time and pains,  
 And dangerous beating out of brains,  
 255 And in the end prevails as certain  
 As those that never trust to fortune;  
 But make their fear do execution  
 Beyond the stoutest resolution;  
 As earthquakes kill without a blow,

for cowardice, pleaded for himself, That he did not run away for fear of the enemy, but only to try how long a paultry carcase might last a man with good looking to."

From this saying of Demosthenes, the Italians might probably borrow their following proverb:

Emaglio che si dieu, qui fuggi, che qui mori. "It is better it should be said, here he run away, than here he was slain." Select Proverbs, Italian—London, 1707, p. 12.

v. 245, 246, 247. *Hence timely running's no mean part—Of conduct in the martial art;—By which some glorious feats atchieve.*] See note on part i. and canto iii. v. 607, 608, &c.; an account of Mark Antony's brave retreat from his Parthian Expedition, Lewis's History of the Parthian Empire, p. 161.

"A prudent chief not always must display  
 His powers in equal rank, and fair array;  
 But with th' occasion and the place comply,  
 Conceal his force, nay seem sometimes to fly.  
 Those oft are stratagems which errors seem,  
 Nor is it Homer nods, but we that dream."

Mr. Pope's Essay on Criticism:

v. 261, 262. *If th' ancients crown'd their bravest men,—That only*

260 And, only trembling, overthrow.  
 If th' ancients crown'd their bravest men,  
 That only fav'd a citizen,  
 What victory could e'er be won,  
 If every one would save but one?  
 265 Or fight endanger'd to be lost,  
 Where all resolve to save the most?  
 By this means, when a battle's won,  
 The war's as far from being done:  
 For those that save themselves, and fly,  
 270 Go halves, at least, i' th' victory;  
 And sometime, when the loss is small,  
 And danger great, they challenge all;  
 Print new editions to their feats,  
 And emendations in gazettes;

*only sav'd a citizen.*] The corona civica was given to any soldier that had, in battle, saved the life of a Roman citizen, by killing, at the same time, an enemy; and, though it was composed of no better materials than oaken boughs, yet it was esteemed more honourable than any other crown. Virgil calls it civilis quercus, *Æn.* vi. 771, 772.

“ Qui juvenes, quantas, ostentant, aspice vires:  
 At qui umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.”

See an account of the honours conferred on those persons that had merited it, Antiquity explained, by Montfaucon, vol. iv. part i. chap. vii. p. 106; Dr. Kennet's Antiquities of Rome, part ii. chap. xvi; Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero, vol. i. quarto edit. p. 47, 48. Vid. etiam Auli Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. v. cap. vi; Reusneri Symbol. Imperator. class. i. symbol. xxvii. p. 36.

v. 271. *And sometime, when the loss is small, &c.*] After a battle, the rebels, if they found their loss was small, they represented it to the people as a great victory gained, and made bonfires, and appointed a public thanksgiving for it; by which they kept up the spirit of the party. (Dr. B.)

v. 274. *And emendations in gazettes.*] I don't remember to have met with any such paper printed in those rebellious times; though

275 And when, for furious haste to run,  
 They durst not stay to fire a gun,  
 Have done't with bonfires, and at home  
 Made squibs and crackers overcome :  
 To set the rabble on a flame,  
 280 And keep their governors from blame,

there was a paper with that title early in the reign of King James I. as appears from John Donne's verses upon T. Coriat's Crudities, published 1611.

“ Munster did towns, and Gesner authors shew;  
 Mount now——— to Gallo Belgicus appear  
 As deep a statesman as a gazetteer.”

See likewise R. Riccomontanus's Verses upon the Crudities.

The gazettes began first to be regularly printed in King Charles II.'s time, in the year 1665, the year of the plague : The first number dated November 7, 1665. There is a complete collection of gazettes from that time, to December 30, 1703, in thirteen volumes folio, in Mr. Pepys's library in Magdalen College, Cambridge : In Lord Oxford's library, a complete set to the year 1739, inclusive, in thirty-four volumes, Cat. Bibliothec. Harleian. vol. ii. p. 740. See the etymology, Junii Etymol. Anglican.

v. 284. *They have been forc'd to sing Te Deum.*] This they frequently did, though beaten. And it was their custom likewise to sing a psalm before an engagement ; to which Mr. Cotton, Virgil Travestie, b. iv. p. 146, compares the dismal howlings of Queen Dido's domestics, when they discovered that she had hanged herself :

“ Even like unto the dismal yowl,  
 When trifful dogs at midnight howl :  
 Or, like the dirges that, through nose,  
 Humm'd out to damp their Pagan foes,  
 When holy Roundheads go to battle,  
 With such a yell did Carthage rattle.”

We know it has been customary in other nations, upon an imaginary victory, nay sometimes a defeat, to sing Te Deum. Mahomet ridicules this custom among Christians, in a remarkable manner, and with a seeming justness : “ I have been (says he) at a ceremony which I am willing to see often, to give an account of it in my letters : It is the Te Deum which Christian princes cause to be sung in their churches, on the gaining any considerable advantage over their enemies ; which Te Deum is a  
 hymn



Disperse the news the pulpit tells,  
 Confirm'd with fire-works and with bells;  
 And, though reduc'd to that extreme,  
 They have been forc'd to sing *Te Deum*;  
 285 Yet with religious blasphemy,  
 By flattering heaven with a lie,

hymn compos'd by two of their saints, to wit, Ambrose and Austin. When the French beat the Spaniards, they sing the *Te Deum*; and, when these vanquish their enemies, they do the same. These two nations do the duty of the Mussulmen, in destroying one another: and, when this is done, they give God thanks for the evil they had committed." Turkish Spy, vol. i. p. 5.

v. 286. *By flattering heaven with a lie.*] There are many instances of this kind upon record. "You mocked God (says the author of a letter sent to London, from a Spy at Oxford——— p. 10) in your public thanksgivings for your invisible victories, when you were publicly beaten: as at Edge-hill, when you and the saw-pit Lord (viz. Philip Lord Wharton, who hid himself in a saw-pit), with some others, did make people believe lies, on purpose to gull them of their monies."

v. 287. *And, for their beating, giving thanks.*] Mr. Walker (History of Independency, part. ii. p. 174) gives a remarkable instance of this kind: "Popham (says he) was the man, who, on the 4th of June 1649, gave a dismal relation to the high and mighty states at Whitehall, of his ill success in tampering with the Governor of Kinsale, in Ireland, who, being honestier than the saints expected, took a sum of money of him to betray the town and fort, and ships in the road; but when Popham came into the road, to take possession of his new purchase, gave him such a gun-powder welcome, that he lost most of his men landed to take livery and seisin, and divers ships. He was commanded to conceal the ill news, and make a different report to the plebeians of the Commons House, of his success, &c. (see Whitlock's Memorials, p. 406, 2d edit.) which occasioned an order the 15th June, That, for this remarkable additional mercy, bestowed upon them, in the prosperous success given to their fleet at sea, upon Thursday next, the day set apart for thanksgiving, their ministers should praise God." "Lord (says Mr. Walker), since these audacious saints are so thankful to thee for  
 B b 2 one

- And, for their beating, giving thanks,  
 Th' haverais'd recruits, and fill'd their banks;  
 For those who run from th' enemy,  
 290 Engage them equally to fly;  
 And, when the fight becomes a chace,  
 Those win the day that win the race;  
 And that which would not pass in fights,  
 Has done the feat with easy flights;  
 295 Recover'd many a desp'rate campaign  
 With Bourdeaux, Burgundy, and Champaign;  
 Restor'd the fainting high and mighty  
 With brandy-wine, and aqua-vitæ;

one beating, bestow many more beatings upon them, for they deserve all thy corrections." See likewise History of Independency, part i. p. 86.

" Nay, to the Almighty's self, they have been bold  
 To lie, and their blasphemous minister told,  
 They might say false to God, for, if they were  
 Beaten, he knew't not, for he was not there.  
 But God, who their great thankfulness did see,  
 Reward them straight with another victory!  
 Just such a one as Brainsford, and, sans doubt,  
 'Twill weary, er't be long, their gratitude out."

Mr. Cowley's Puritan and Papist, p. 1, 2.

" But, oh! your faith is mighty, that has been,  
 As true faith ought to be, of things unseen.  
 At Worc'ster, Brainsford, and Edge-hill, we see,  
 Only by faith, y' have got the victory.  
 Such is your faith, and some such unseen way,  
 The public faith at last your debts will pay." Id. ib. p. 3.

See more, p. 8.

" At Keinton, Brainsford, Plymouth, York,  
 And divers places more,  
 What victories we saints obtain,  
 The like ne'er seen before:  
 How often we Prince Rupert kill'd,  
 And bravely won the day;  
 The wicked Cavaliers did run  
 The quite contrary way."

And made 'em stoutly overcome  
 300 With bacrack, hoccamore, and mum;  
 With the uncontroul'd decrees of fate  
 To victory neceffitate;  
 With which, although they run or burn,  
 They unavoidably return :  
 305 Or else their sultan populaces  
 Still strangle all their routed bassas.  
 Quoth Hudibras, I understand  
 What fights thou mean'st at sea and land,  
 And who those were that ran away,  
 310 And yet gave out th' had won the day ;

On Colonel Venn's encouragement to his foldiers, Collection of Loyal Songs, republished 1731, vol. i. No. xlii. p. 105.

v. 289, 290. *For those who run from the enemy,—Engage them equally to fly.*] Of this opinion, probably, was that humorous traveller, who, relating some of his adventures, told the company that he and his servant made fifty wild Arabians run; which, startling them, he observed, that there was no great matter in it; for (says he) we run and they ran after us.

v. 300. *With bacrack.*] Or baccharack. A wine from Bachiæra, a town on the Rhine, upon the Palatinate, whence it has its name. Bailey. Bacrach, edit. 1684, and following editions.

Ib. ——— *hoccamore.*] *Old hock.* A sort of Rhenish wine, so called from the village of Hockheim on the Maine, opposite to Mentz. Bailey.

v. 305. *Or else their sultan populaces, &c.*] \* The author compares the arbitrary actings of the ungovernable mob to the Sultan or Grand Seignior, who very seldom fails to sacrifice any of his chief commanders, called Bassas, if they prove unsuccessful in battle. See Knowles's and Sir Paul Rycaut's Histories of the Turks, and Mr. Fenton's Observations on some of Waller's Poems, p. 70.

v. 309, 310. *And who those were that run away,—And yet gave out th' had won the day.*] Alluding probably to Sir William Waller's

Although the rabble fous'd them for't  
 O'er head and ears in mud and dirt.  
 'Tis true, our modern way of war  
 Is grown more politic by far,  
 315 But not so resolute and bold,  
 Nor ty'd to honour, as the old:  
 For now they laugh at giving battle,  
 Unless it be to herds of cattle;  
 Or fighting convoys of provision,  
 320 The whole design o' th' expedition,  
 And not with downright blows to rout  
 The enemy, but eat them out:  
 As fighting, in all beasts of prey,  
 And eating, are perform'd one way;

ler's defeat at Roundway Downe, which the soldiers ever after called Runaway Downe. Mr. Whitelock makes the rout to be occasioned by a panic fear in the parliament house: But Lord Hollis charges it upon the unskillfulness and cowardice of Sir Arthur Haslerig. It gave occasion for much rejoicing and pleasant raillery among the Cavaliers; and Cleveland thus plays upon both those commanders (*Character of a London Diurnal*): "This is the William, who is the city's champion, and the diurnal's delight; yet, in all this triumph, translate the scene but to Roundway Downe, there Haslerig's lobsters (see reason why so called, *Echard's History of England*, vol ii. p. 418) were turned into crabs, and crawled backwards. There poor Sir William ran to his lady for a use of a consolation."

" Sir William at Runaway Downe had a bout,  
 Which him and his lobsters did totally rout,  
 And his lady the conqueror could not help him out.  
 Which nobody can deny."

The Rump carbonadoe'd, *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii. No. 26.

Mr. Whitelock says (*Memorials*, p. 70), That Waller posted up to London, and, by his presence, silenced invectives against him.

And



- 325 To give defiance to their teeth,  
 And fight their stubborn guts to death;  
 And those atchieve the high'st renown,  
 That bring the other stomachs down.  
 There's now no fear of wounds nor maiming,
- 330 All dangers are reduc'd to famine;  
 And feats of arms, to plot, design,  
 Surprise, and stratagem, and mine;  
 But have no need, nor use of courage,  
 Unless it be for glory, or forage:
- 335 For, if they fight, 'tis but by chance,  
 When one side, vent'ring to advance,  
 And come uncivilly too near,  
 Are charg'd unmercifully i' th' rear;

And the author of the Letter from a Spy at Oxford (p. 8), speaking of Sir William Waller, at Runaway Downe, or Round-head Downe, as he calls it, says, "Brave William had a beating with a witness, being totally routed by Prince Maurice and Sir John Byron. And this was the twelfth conquest which made up the conqueror's brown dozen in number, compared to the twelve labours of Hercules.—For these great victories, so happily gained by this old beaten conquering commander, he was pompously received into London, with little less than a Roman triumph, on Tuesday the 25th of July. The Lord Mayor's show was nothing to it: There wanted nothing but a galley-foist, and then all had been near complete. The people swarmed about him like caterpillars; every one glutted their eyes in gazing on this conquered Agamemnon; and a thousand voices cried, A Waller, a Waller!" Upon which he remarks, p. 10, "Thus you mocked God, the King, and the people; and by this means you have caused Pagan and Heathen idolatry to be committed. First, To Bacchus there have been offered hundreds of hecatombs of health and carouses; and secondly, Your burnt sacrifices to Vulcan have been innumeraibly blazed in bonfires, fire and faggots, guns, flame, pipe and smoke."

v. 328. ——— *the others stomachs*, edit. 1700, and following ones.

And forc'd, with terrible resistance,  
 340 To keep hereafter at a distance,  
 To pick out ground to encamp upon,  
 Where store of largest rivers run,  
 That serve, instead of peaceful barriers,  
 To part th' engagements of their warriors;  
 345 Where both from side to side may skip,  
 And only encounter at bo-peep:  
 For men are found the stouter-hearted  
 The certainer th' are to be parted;  
 And therefore post themselves in bogs,  
 350 As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs,  
 And made their mortal enemy,  
 The water-rat, their strict ally.

v. 347, 348. *For men are found the stouter-hearted,—The certainer th' are to be parted.*] See Montaigne's *Essays*, vol. ii. chap. ii. b. xvi. p. 450, &c.; *Spectator*, No. 131

v. 350. *As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs.*] \* Homer wrote a poem of the war between the mice and the frogs.

v. 351, 352. *And made their mortal enemy,—The water-rat, their strict ally.*] Meaning the Dutch, who seemed to favour the Parliamentarians. (Mr. W.)

v. 355, 356. *And he's approv'd the most deserving—Who longest can hold out at starving.*] An ordinance was passed March 26, 1644, for the contribution of one meal a week towards the charge of the army. Remarkable was the case of Cecily de Ryge-way, indicted the 31st of Edward III. A. D. 1347, for the murder of her husband; who refusing to plead, was adjudged at last to fast forty days together in close prison, without meat or drink, which she did. See the record in proof, *History of the most remarkable Trials of Great Britain, in capital Cases*, published 1705, p. 52, 53. Dr. Plot (*History of Staffordshire*, ch. viii. § xlvii. xlviii.) has given this, with two other remarkable instances of this kind; namely, of William Francis, who wilfully fasted fourteen days, being melancholy mad; and of John Scot, a Scotchman, who abstained from meat thirty or forty days.  
 Others

- For 'tis not now, who's stout and bold;  
 But who bears hunger best and cold?  
 355 And he's approv'd the most deserving,  
 Who longest can hold out at starving:  
 And he that routs most pigs and cows,  
 The formidablest man of prowess.  
 So th' Emperor Caligula,  
 360 That triumph'd o'er the British sea,  
 Took crabs and oysters prisoners,  
 And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers;  
 Engag'd his legions in fierce bustles,  
 With periwinkles, prawns, and muscles;  
 365 And led his troops with furious gallops,  
 To charge whole regiments of scallops:

Others have carried this point much further, and their accounts greatly exceed belief.

Picus Mirandula mentions (from Roger Bacon) two English women, one who fasted twenty years, and the other forty. Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandulæ de Rer. Prænotione, lib. iii. tom. ii. Op. Basileæ. See more instances, Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandulæ Exam. de Doctrin. Vanitat. Gentium. lib. ii. tom. ii. p. 565; Ægidii Menagii Observat. in Diogen. Laert. lib. ii. segm. 143. See the Life of Martha Taylor, who lived one year without the use of meat or drink, Svo, 1669, Catalog. Bibliothec. Harleian. vol. ii. p. 596, No. 9763; and Reynold's Discourse upon the prodigious Abstinence occasioned by the twelve Months Fasting of Martha Taylor, the famous Derbyshire Damofel, 1669, id. ib. p. 918, No. 14223; Derham's Physico-Theology, book iv. chap. xi. p. 211, 212, 7th edit.; an account of a woman who had lain six days covered with snow, without receiving any nourishment, Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxviii. for the year 1713, p. 265, &c.; and a copy of an affidavit made in Scotland, concerning a boy's living a considerable time without food, Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxxi. No. 361, p. 29.

v. 359. *So th' Emp'rour Caligula.*] See an account of this famous expedition, in Suetonius, Caligul. lib. iv. cap. xlvi; Echard's Roman History, vol. ii. p. 98, 99; Rapin's History of England, translated by Mr. Tindal, folio edit. vol. i. p. 12.

Not like their ancient way of war,  
 To wait on his triumphal car;  
 But when he went to dine or sup,  
 370 More bravely eat his captives up;  
 And left all war by his example,  
 Reduc'd to vict'ling of a camp well.

Quoth Ralph, By all that you have said,  
 And twice as much that I could add,  
 375 'Tis plain, you cannot now do worse,  
 Than take this out-of-fashion'd course,  
 To hope, by stratagem, to woo her,

v. 369, 370. *But when he went to dine or sup,—More bravely eat his captives up.*] The courage of many of the heroes of those times consisted in their teeth. Sir William Brereton, the famous Cheshire knight, is thus characterised by Mr. Cleveland (Character of a London Diurnal, Works, 1677, p. 118). “Was Brereton (says he) to fight with his teeth, as he in all other things resembles the beast, he would have odds of any man at his weapon. Oh! he’s a terrible slaughter-man at a thanksgiving dinner. Had he been cannibal enough to have eaten those he vanquished, his gut would have made him valiant.”

“Will Brereton’s a finner,  
 And Croydon knows a winner;  
 But O take heed lest he do eat  
 The rump all at one dinner.”

Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 55. See a further character of him, Mr. Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. i. p. 471; Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal’s 4th vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 45.

“A man of stomach of the next deal  
 Was hungry Colonel Cobbet,  
 Who would eat at one meal  
 A commonwealth,  
 And make a joint but a gobbet.”

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. p. 157.

v 383, 384. *And stout Rinaldo gain’d his bride,—By courting of her*



Or waging battle to subdue her :  
 Though some have done it in romances,  
 380 And bang'd them into amorous fancies ;  
 As those who won the Amazons,  
 By wanton drubbing of their bones ;  
 And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride,  
 By courting of her back and side.  
 385 But, since those times and feats are over,  
 They are not for a modern lover,  
 When mistresses are too cross-grain'd,  
 By such addresses to be gain'd ;

*her back and side.*] \* A story in Tasso, an Italian poet, of a hero that gained his mistress by conquering her party.

This account is not literally true of Rinaldo, one of the principal heroes concerned in the siege of Jerusalem, against the infidel Saracens. Armida, a beautiful queen, was in love with him, and had by magic engaged his affections. But when, by the assistance of his friends, he broke loose from her snares, and left her, she vowed revenge, and offered to marry any one of those Pagan princes who came to Saladin's assistance, provided they could take off Rinaldo in battle, though she still retained a secret affection for him. But when he had slain, with his own hand, all those princes who had rashly undertaken his death, she fled from him with a design of taking away her own life ; but he pursued and prevented it ; and his love re-kindled by her heavy complaints against him : And when she had given them vent, in the most moving and passionate terms, he convinced her that his affection for her was as strong as ever, which brought about a reconciliation. Fairfax's *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, book xx. st. 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, p. 650, 651, 652. See Mr. Fenton's *Waller*, 1729, p. 278 ; *Observations*, p. 83 ; *Speculator*, No. 14.

This suits as well with what Shakespeare mentions of Theseus and Hippolyta (in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, vol. i. p. 79). Theseus speaks to Hippolyta in the following manner : " Hippolyta, I woo'd thee with my sword, and won thy love, doing thee injuries : But I will wed thee in another key, with pomp, with triumph, and with revelling." See *History of the Destruction of Troy*, book ii. chap. 14.

And if they were, would have it out,  
 390 With many another kind of bout.  
 Therefore I hold no course s' infeasible,  
 As this of force to win the Jezebel;  
 To storm her heart, by th' antic charms  
 Of ladies errant, force of arms;  
 395 But rather strive by law to win her,  
 And try the title you have in her.  
 Your case is clear, you have her word,  
 And me to witness the accord;  
 Besides two more of her retinue  
 400 To testify what pass'd between you;  
 More probable, and like to hold,  
 Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold;  
 For which so many, that renounc'd  
 Their plighted contracts, have been trounc'd;  
 405 And bills upon record been found,  
 That forc'd the ladies to compound;  
 And that, unless I miss the matter,

v. 401, 402. *More probable and like to hold—Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold.*] Breaking of gold was formerly much practised; and, when done, it was commonly believed, that such a man and woman were made sure to one another, and could marry no other persons: That they had broke a piece of gold between them was looked upon to be a firm marriage-contract: Nothing was thought to bind the contract more firmly, before they were actually married, than this breaking a piece of gold. (Dr. B.)

See an account of Valentine's dividing a gold ring with Clermond, when he took leave of her, before his pilgrimage. History of Valentine and Orson, chap. xli. p. 174.

v. 405, 406. *And bills upon record been found,—That forc'd the ladies to compound.*] See a remarkable bill of charges, upon a dis-appointment in courtship, Guardian, No. 97.

“ On

- Is all the bus'ness you look after :  
 Besides, encounters at the bar  
 410 Are braver now than those in war,  
 In which the law does execution,  
 With less disorder and confusion ;  
 Has more of honour in't, some hold,  
 Not like the new way, but the old ;  
 415 When those the pen had drawn together,  
 Decided quarrels with the feather,  
 And winged arrows kill'd as dead,  
 And more than bullets now of lead :  
 So all their combats now, as then,  
 420 Are manag'd chiefly by the pen ;  
 That does the feat, with braver vigours,  
 In words at length, as well as figures ;  
 Is judge of all the world performs  
 In voluntary feats of arms ;  
 425 And whatfoe'er's atchiev'd in fight,  
 Determines which is wrong or right :

" On promise of marriage, damages may be recovered, if either party refuse to marry : But the promise must be mutual on both sides, to ground the action, 1 Salk. 24.—And though no time for marriage be agreed on, if the plaintiff aver, that he has offered to marry the woman, and she refused, an action lies against her, and damages are recoverable.—If a man and woman make mutual promises of intermarriage, and the man gives the woman 100l. in satisfaction of his promise of marriage, it is a good discharge of the contract. Mod. Caf. 156. By Stat. 29, Car. II. c. iii. no action shall be brought on any agreement or consideration of marriage, except it be put in writing, and signed by the party to be charged, &c. And where an agreement relating to marriage must be in writing, and when it need not, Vid. Skinn. 353." Jacob's Law Dictionary.

- For whether you prevail, or lose,  
 All must be try'd there in the close ;  
 And therefore 'tis not wise to shun  
 430 What you must trust to, ere y' have done.  
     The law, that settles all you do,  
     And marries where you did but woo,  
     That makes the most perfidious lover  
     A lady, that's as false, recover ;  
 435 And, if it judge upon your side,  
     Will soon extend her for your bride,  
     And put her person, goods, or lands,  
     Or which you like best, int' your hands.  
     For law's the wisdom of all ages,  
 440 And manag'd by the ablest fages ;  
     Who, though their bus'ness at the bar  
     Be but a kind of civil war,

v. 436.— *extend her.*] See *extend*, Jacob's Law Dictionary.

v. 441, 442. *Who, though their business at the bar—Be but a kind of civil war.*] This piece of grimace in the gentleman of the long robe is sneered by the writer of a pindaric poem inscribed to the Society of Beaux Esprits, p. 7.

“ Nor is your time mispent in parchment jar,

    The hellish bustle of the bar,

Where the loud prattling tribe wage an eternal war :

A war, while there—high words are rais'd,

Their pedigrees and virtues blaz'd :

That is the issue of a first rate clown,

And wore his leathern breeches up to town ;

This is a pimp to causes, such a cheat,

He'd pawn his soul for a five shillings treat :

That has a conscience steel'd, and this a face of brass,

And he that looks so gravely is an ass.

Yet, when they next meet, they agree,

Who but dear Jack, and Billy, who but he ?

Consult afresh to raise their clients strife,

And make it last as long as life :

And yet they know the law was meant

What's wrongful to redress!

To free the poor and innocent.”



- In which th' engage with fiercer dudgeons,  
 Than e'er the Grecians did and Trojans ;  
 445 They never manage the contest  
 T' impair their public interest,  
 Or by their controversies lessen  
 The dignity of their profession :  
 Not like us brethren, who divide  
 450 Our common-wealth, the cause and side ;  
 And though w' are all as near of kindred  
 As th' outward man is to the inward,  
 We agree in nothing, but to wrangle  
 About the slightest fingle-fangle ;  
 455 While lawyers have more sober sense,  
 Than to argue at their own expence,  
 But make their best advantages  
 Of others quarrels, like the Swifs ;

The Spectator observes (No. 13), " That nothing is more usual in Westminster-hall, than to see a couple of lawyers, who have been tearing one another to pieces in court, embracing one another as soon as they are out of it." See Spectator, No. 21 ; Tatler, No. 42 ; Ben Jonson's Masque of Gypsies, &c. p. 76.

v. 453, 454. *We agree in nothing, but to wrangle—About the slightest fingle-fangle.*] The Squire in this speech pays a true and worthy compliment to the professors of the law. This obvious good understanding among themselves makes them easy ; and the law ought to be held in veneration, because it is not exposed to the censure and judgment of the vulgar (as other professions mentioned by Ralphe are) by the indiscreet writings of its professors. (See v. 483, &c.) No wonder it is, that the Squire, by such fair and undeniable arguments in their favour, persuaded the Knight to apply to a lawyer for advice in his present case, which undoubtedly required relief and satisfaction. (Mr. B.)

v. 458. *Of others quarrels, like the Swifs.*] The Cantons of Switzerland will, upon any reasonable terms, allow any Christian princes to raise soldiers among them ; by which means they are sure to be

- And out of foreign controversies,  
 460 By aiding both sides, fill their purses;  
 But have no int'rest in the cause  
 For which th' engage, and wage the laws;  
 Nor further prospect than their pay,  
 Whether they lose or win the day.  
 465 And though th' abounded in all ages,  
 With fundry learned clerks and sages,  
 Though all their business be dispute,  
 Which way they canvass every suit,  
 Th' have no disputes about their art,

at peace with all the neighbouring states, and at the same time make a tolerable provision for great numbers of their people. But one Swiss regiment (as I am told) will not fight with another Swiss regiment, on any consideration. As they are all mustered and exercised every Sunday; so the whole country to a man, are ever ready to fight. (Mr. B. of B.) They expect to have their pay regularly; "otherwise (says Mr. Moll, Geography, p. 234, edit. 1701) they are ready to make good the proverb, No money, no Swiss." Other Quarrels, edit. 1678, 1684.

v. 475. *The Galenist and Paracelsian.*] Galen was born in the year 130, and lived to the year 200. See a full account of him, Suidæ Lexicon, vol. i. p. 465; Labbei Elog. Chronologic. Fabricii Bibliothec. Græc. lib. iv. cap. xvii. tom. iii. p. 510, 527; Chambers's Cyclopædia.

Paracelsus was born the latter end of the 15th, and lived almost to the middle of the 16th century. (See Collier's Dictionary.) And though I have given a large account of him in a note, on part ii. cant. iii. v. 627, I beg leave to add the following one, translated from the French, and communicated to me by Miss W—— and Miss E——r W, two young ladies, who are endued with all the perfections of their sex, and admired for their great attainments in polite learning, by all who have the honour of their acquaintance.

Que V. A. S. me permette de luy d'ecrire l'epitaphe, &c.

"Your serene Highness will permit me to relate to you an epitaph I saw against the wall in the church at Saltbrough, of a man much esteemed in Germany, and particularly in this part of it.

- 470 Nor in polemics controvert:  
 While all professions else are found  
 With nothing but disputes t' abound:  
 Divines of all sorts, and physicians,  
 Philosophers, mathematicians;  
 475 The Galenist, and Paracelsian,  
 Condemn the way each other deals in;  
 Anatomists dissect and mangle,  
 To cut themselves out work to wrangle;  
 Astrologers dispute their dreams,  
 480 That in their sleeps they talk of schemes:

“ Conditur, hic, Philíppus Theophrastus,  
 Insignis Medicinæ Doctor, qui dira illa  
 Vulnera, lepram, podagram, hydropisim,  
 Aliaque insanabilia corporis contagia  
 Mirifica arte sustulit.

Ac bona sua in pauperes distribuenda  
 Collocandaque honoravit.

Anno MDXLI die xxiiii. Septemb.  
 Vitam cum morte mutavit.”

“ This suits but little with what I learned concerning him in France, where he passes only for a quack, desirous of blinding the world by the extraordinary advantages he promised them.

“ This impostor promised to every body the secret of making gold; and nevertheless died himself a beggar, and in the hospital of this very Saltsbourg: where the wealth he left to the poor could be of no use, but to add two lines more to his epitaph.

“ He boasted too, that it was in his power to make the Pope, Luther, and the Turk, agree: he was a wicked man then, for he did not do it. I know no quality he had to facilitate his doing it, but that he had no zeal for any party. In fine (says he) I have the secret to make a man live to one hundred and fifty free from diseases; and he himself died at thirty-seven, loaded with distempers: Nothing of all this persuades me in favour either of his probity or erudition.”

Relations Historique de Voyages en Alemange, &c. par Cha. Patin. M. D. Lyon, 1676; Relation Quatrieme à S. A. Sue. Anthoine Ulric Duc de Brunswic, p. 286.

And heralds stickle, who got who,  
So many hundred years ago.

But lawyers are too wise a nation,  
T' expose their trade to disputation ;  
485 Or make the busy rabble judges  
Of all their secret piques and grudges ;  
In which, whoever wins the day,  
The whole profession's sure to pay.  
Beside, no mountebanks, nor cheats,  
490 Dare undertake to do their feats ;  
When in all other sciences  
They swarm like insects, and increase.

For what bigot durst ever draw,  
By inward light a deed in law ?  
495 Or could hold forth, by revelation,  
An answer to a declaration ?  
For those that meddle with their tools,  
Will cut their fingers if they're fools :  
And if you follow their advice,  
500 In bills, and answers, and replies ;  
They'll write a love-letter in chancery,  
Shall bring her upon oath to answer ye,  
And soon reduce her to b' your wife,

Dr. Quincy (See Physical Dictionary, p. 164) distinguishes between Galenical and Chemical medicines; and observes, that the Galenical run much upon the multiplying of herbs and roots in the same composition, seldom torturing them any other way than by decoction; in opposition to Chemical medicines, which by the force of fire, and a great deal of art, fetches out the virtues of bodies chiefly mineral into a small compass. (For an account of chemical preparations, the reader, if he pleases, may consult Paracelsus,



Or make her weary of her life.

505 The Knight, who us'd with tricks and shifts

To edify by Ralpho's gifts,

But in appearance cry'd him down,

To make them better seem his own,

(All plagiaries constant course

510 Of sinking when they take a purse)

Resolv'd to follow his advice,

But kept it from him by disguise:

And, after stubborn contradiction,

To counterfeit his own conviction,

515 And, by transiſion, fall upon

The resolution, as his own.

Quoth he, This gambol, thou adviſeſt,

Is, of all others, the unwiſeſt;

For, if I think by law to gain her,

520 There's nothing ſillier, nor vainer;

'Tis but to hazard my pretence,

Where nothing's certain, but th' expence;

To act againſt myſelf, and traverse

My ſuit and title to her favours:

325 And if ſhe ſhould, which Heaven forbid,

O'erthrow me, as the fiddler did;

racellus, Van Helmont, Lemery, Wilſon, Dr. Friend, and Boerhaave, who have wrote profeſſedly on that ſubject.

v. 481.—*And heralds ſtickle, who got who.*] See Spectator, No. 446.

v. 507. ——— *cry'd him down.*] Edit. 1678, 1684. *Cry'd them down,* 1700 and following editions.

v. 523, 524. ——— *and traverse, — My ſuit ———*] See Traverse, Bailey, and Jacob's Law Dictionary.

What after-course have I to take,  
 'Gainst losing all I have at stake?  
 He that with injury is griev'd,  
 530 And goes to law, to be reliev'd,  
 Is fillier than a fottish chowse,  
 Who, when a thief has robb'd his house,  
 Applies himself to cunning men,  
 To help him to his goods again;  
 535 When all he can expect to gain,  
 Is but to squander more in vain:  
 And yet I have no other way,  
 But is as difficult to play.  
 For to reduce her, by main force,  
 540 Is now in vain; by fair means, worse;  
 But worst of all to give her over,  
 Till she's as desp'rate to recover.  
 For bad games are thrown up too soon,  
 Until th' are never to be won,  
 545 But since I have no other course,  
 But is as bad t' attempt, or worse;  
 He that complices against his will,  
 Is of his own opinion still;  
 Which he may adhere to, yet disown,  
 550 For reasons to himself best known;

v. 565. *And for his bringing custom in.*] See Sir Roger L'Estrange's Fable of the Countryman and the Kid, part i. fab. 350.

v. 573, 574. *Most apt for what I have to do,—As counsellor and justice too.*] Who this lawyer was I am really at a loss to understand: the author of the printed notes has pointed out E. P. Esq. as the person intended by Mr. Butler: but I cannot give into his opinion;

- But 'tis not to b' avoided now,  
For Sidrophel resolves to sue :  
Whom I must answer, or begin,  
Inevitably, first with him.
- 555 For I've receiv'd advertisement,  
By times enough, of his intent ;  
And knowing, he that first complains  
Th' advantage of the business gains ;  
For courts of justice understand
- 560 The plaintiff to be eldest hand :  
Who what he pleases may aver,  
The other, nothing till he swear :  
Is freely admitted to all grace,  
And lawful favour, by his place :
- 565 And, for his bringing custom in,  
Has all advantages to win.  
I, who resolve to oversee  
No lucky opportunity,  
Will go to counsel, to advise
- 570 Which way t' encounter, or surprise,  
And, after long consideration,  
Have found out one to fit th' occasion ;  
Most apt for what I have to do,  
As counsellor and justice too :

opinion; though his character was not wholly unexceptionable, as appears from several passages in Mr. Walker's History of Independency. His great business in his profession, and the posts that he filled, must take up too much of his time, to suffer him to engage in the proper business of a pettifogger. He had been Commissioner of the Great Seal, worth 1500*l.* a year; and then by an ordinance, practised within the bar, as one of the King's

575 And, truly so, no doubt, he was,  
A lawyer fit for such a case.

An old dull sot, who told the clock,  
For many years at Bridewell-dock,  
At Westminster, and Hicks's Hall;  
580 And *hiccius doctius* play'd in all;  
Where, in all governments and times,  
H' had been both friend and foe to crimes,  
And us'd too equal ways of gaining,  
By hind'ring justice, or maintaining:

counsel, worth 500l. per annum. He was afterwards postmaster for all inland letters, worth 100l. every Tuesday night, and Attorney-general to the Commonwealth of England (see History of Independency, part i. p. 143, 166, &c. edit. 1661), and died in 1659 (as Mr. Echard observes, History of England, vol. ii. p. 872), worth sixty thousand pounds in gold, in his coffers, as was credibly reported; besides lands of great value. Mr. Whitlock observes of him (Memorials 2d edit. p. 682), "That he was a generous person, faithful to the parliament interest, and a good chancery lawyer." Bishop Tillotson, as I am informed, by a worthy gentleman descended from him, lived with him as chaplain: and he was a man much esteemed in Devonshire, where he lived, (namely, at Ford abbey, which he bought of Sir Samuel Rosewell, reputed by some the hero of this poem) for his hospitable and charitable disposition. What room then for fixing this character upon him, rather than upon Glyn or Maynard, who likewise complied with the times?

I have been told, that one Siderfin, who lived in those times and raised considerable fortunes in a low way of practice, has been reputed the lawyer sneered by our poet.

Ibid. ————— and as *justice* too.] As such, whoever he was, he might have deserved the character of John Taylor's Basket Justice. See his poem entitled, A Brood of Cormorants, Works, p. 7.

v. 577, 578. *An old dull sot, who told the clock,—For many years at Bridewell dock* ] Alluding probably to his attendance at Bridewell when petty criminals were whipped, who would not or could not commute their whipping for a sum of money.

Dr. Plot (see History of Staffordshire, chap. viii. § lxvi. p. 303, see



585 To many a whore gave privilege,  
 And whipp'd, for want of quarterage;  
 Cart-loads of bawds to prison sent,  
 For b'ing behind a fortnight's rent:  
 And many a trusty pimp and croney,  
 590 To Puddle-dock, for want of money;  
 Engag'd the constable to seize  
 All those that would not break the peace;  
 Nor give him back his own foul words,  
 Though sometimes commoners, or lords,

see likewise Spectator, No. 447) makes mention of an idiot, who daily amused himself with always counting the hour of the day whenever the clock struck; and, when it was spoiled by accident, the idiot continued to strike, and count the hour without the help of it.

v. 580. *And hiccius doctius play'd in all.*] An unintelligible term used by jugglers. See Preface to a tract entitled Hocus Pocus, Vulgar, vol. iii. No. 21; Bibliothec. Pepyfian. Such a lawyer as this would certainly have been banished out of Sir Thomas Moore's Utopian Commonwealth. See Translation of the Second Book of his Utopia, printed 1624, p. 104. *Hickius dockius*, edit. 1678, 1684.

v. 584. *By hind'ring justice, or maintaining.*] Judge Bridlegoose's method (see Rabelais, book iii. chap. xxxix. p. 261) seems to have been more equitable, who decided causes and controversies by the chance and fortune of the dice. Or the Russian custom of giving judgment by lot. See Dr. Giles Fletcher's Treatise of Russia; Purchase's Pilgrims, part iii. lib. iii. p. 434; or the Romantic way of trying causes in some part of the East Indies, the contending parties putting their bills into the hand of St. Thomas the apostle; Sir John Mandevile's Voyages, &c. p. 208.

v. 585. *To many a whore gave privilege.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange observes (Reflection upon the Fable of the Crows and Pigeons, part i. fab. 386), "That set a kite on the bench, and it is forty to one that he'll bring off a crow at the bar."

v. 589. *And many a trusty pimp and croney, &c.*] \* There was a gaol for puny offenders.

- 595 And kept them prisoners of course,  
 For being sober at ill hours ;  
 That in the morning he might free  
 Or bind 'em over for his fee.  
 Made monsters fine, and puppet-plays,  
 600 For leave to practise, in their ways ;  
 Farm'd out all cheats, and went a share  
 With th' headborough and scavenger ;  
 And made the dirt i' th' streets compound  
 For taking up the public ground :  
 605 The kennel, and the King's highway,  
 For being unmolested, pay,  
 Let out the stocks, and whipping-post,  
 And cage, to those that gave him most ;  
 Impos'd a tax on bakers ears,

v. 595, 596. *And kept 'em prisoners of course,—For being sober at ill hours.*] Of this cast were the constable and watchman (see Sir Richard Steele's comedy, called *The Lying Lovers*, edit. 1712, p. 57) upon the rencounter that happened between Lovemore and young Bookwit.

*Const.* “Where, where was this clashing of swords? Soho! soho! You Sir, what are you dead? Speak, friend, what are you afraid of? If you are dead, the law can take no hold of you.

*Watch.* I beg your pardon, Mr. Constable, he ought by the law to be carried to the Roundhouse, for being dead at this time of night.

*Const.* Then away with him, you there—and you, gentlemen, follow me to find who killed him.”

v. 599. *Made Monsters fine, and puppet-plays, &c.*] \* He extorted money from those that kept thows. See *Don Quixote*, vol. iii. chap. xxvi. p. 259.

There is a remarkable account of Biroche, the famous Puppet-player of Paris, who was taken up as a conjurer, in one of the Cantons of Switzerland (they taking his puppets for so many little devils); and he had certainly been condemned as such by the magistrates,

- 610 And, for false weights, on chandlers;  
 Made victuallers and vintners fine  
 For arbitrary ale and wine.  
 But was a kind and constant friend  
 To all that regularly offend :
- 615 As residentiary bawds,  
 And brokers that receive stol'n goods ;  
 That cheat in lawful mysteries,  
 And pay church-duties, and his fees :  
 But was implacable and aukward
- 620 To all that interlop'd and hawker'd.  
 To this brave man the Knight repairs  
 For counsel in his law-affairs ;  
 And found him mounted, in his pew,  
 With books and money plac'd, for shew,

magistrates, had not Monsieur Dumont, a colonel of a regiment of Swiss, interposed ; who convinced them at last, that there was no witchcraft in the case. However, they insisted upon Biroche's paying the charge of the prosecution ; which he not complying with, they fined him severely by plundering his puppets, and carrying off their fine clothes in triumph, and putting him to the expence of new dressing them, before they could appear in Flanders. See Count de Rochford's Memoirs, 3d edit. p. 313, &c. Mr. Addison observes (Travels, edit. 1705, p. 508), that the notion of witchcraft prevails very much among the Swiss. And the Spectator (No. 372), that, in Holland, there is a tax upon puppet plays for the industrious poor.

v. 609. *Impos'd a tax on bakers ears.*] That is, took a bribe to save them from the pillory.

The ancient way of punishing bakers for want of weight was by the tumbrel, or cucking stool. This punishment was inflicted on them in the time of King Henry III. by Hugh Bigod, brother to the Earl Marshal. Hollinghead's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 753, edit. 1577.

v. 619. ——— *auker'd*, edit. 1678, 1684.

v. 620. ——— *and hawker'd*.] See Manley's Interpreter and Cowel. Skinner's Etymolog.; Junii Etymologic. Anglican.

- 625 Like nest-eggs to make clients lay,  
 And for his false opinion pay:  
 To whom the Knight, with comely grace,  
 Put off his hat, to put his case:  
 Which he as proudly entertain'd  
 630 As th' other courteously strain'd;  
 And, to assure him 'twas not that  
 He look'd for, bid him put on's hat.  
 Quoth he, There is one Sidrophel,  
 Whom I have cudgell'd—Very well.  
 635 And now he brags t' have beaten me;—  
 Better, and better still, quoth he:  
 And vows to stick me to a wall,  
 Where-e'er he meets me—Best of all.

v. 624, 625. *With books and money plac'd for show,—Like nest-eggs to make clients lay.*]

"Discord's apartment different was seen,  
 He had a lawyer been;  
 One that, if fee were large, loudly could bawl;  
 But had a cough o' th' lungs, if small:  
 And never car'd who lost, if he might win.  
 His shelves were cramm'd with processes and writs,  
 Long rolls of parchment, bonds, citations, wills;  
 Fines, errors, executions, and eternal chancery bills."

The Progress of Honesty, p. 14.

v. 645, 646. *Now, whether I should before-hand—Swear he robb'd me? ————*] Thus, one Harman, a very wealthy gentleman in Northamptonshire, was served by a tenant. Mr. Harman hearing that his tenant, who was in great arrears, was going to a fair with money to buy cattle, met him designedly upon the road, told him he knew he had money, and desired him to discharge some part of his arrears, which he did with some difficulty. This coming to the knowledge of persons who were no friends to Harman, they advised his tenant to indict him for a robbery upon the highway, which he did, and Mr. Harman was condemned; but pardoned at the instance of one of the same name, who was secretary to the then Lord Treasurer; for which piece of service,  
 he





Hogarth del.

Kidley sculp











- 'Tis true the knave has taken's oath  
 640 That I robb'd him—Well done, in troth.  
 When h' has confess'd, he stole my cloak,  
 And pick'd my fob, and what he took ;  
 Which was the cause that made me bang him,  
 And take my goods again—Marry hang him.  
 645 Now, whether I should before-hand  
 Swear he robb'd me?—I understand.  
 Or bring my action of conversion  
 And trover for my goods?—Ah, whoreson.  
 Or, if 'tis better to indite,  
 650 And bring him to his trial?—Right ;  
 Prevent what he designs to do,  
 And swear for th' state against him?—True.

he left him his whole estate, which was a very large one. See Arthur Wilson's account of it, Bishop Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. ii. p. 787, edit. 1706.

Remarkable was the custom of the Egyptians with regard to theft and robbery. Upon the thief's discovering the theft, and delivering the money or goods to the chief priest, the person robbed was bound to return one fourth part of the money or goods stolen to the robber. Vid. Diodori Siculi Rer. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. iii. Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandulæ Exam. Doctrin. Vanitat. Gent. lib. iii. tom. ii. p. 652.

And it is observed of the Sicilians, that, with them, robbery was esteemed honourable; and the robber, if he was killed in pursuit of booty, was highly honoured after his death. Sexti Philosophi Pyrrh. Hypotyp. lib. iii. edit. 1621, p. 154. See Sir Tho. Moor's Proposal for the Punishment of Theft. Utopia, book i. p. 20, 21.

v. 647, 648. *Or bring my action of conversion—And trover for my goods? —————*] An action of *trover*, from *trouver* to find, is an action which a man has against one who, having found any of his goods, refuses to deliver them upon demand. Bailey's Dictionary. Jacob's Law Dictionary.

- Or, whether he that is defendant,  
 In this case, has the better end on't ;  
 655 Who, putting in a new cross-bill,  
 May traverse the action ?—Better still.  
 Then there's a Lady too,—Ay, marry,  
 That's easily prov'd accessary ;  
 A Widow, who, by solemn vows  
 660 Contracted to me, for my spouse,  
 Combin'd with him to break her word,  
 And has abetted all—Good Lord !  
 Suborn'd th' aforesaid Sidrophel,  
 To tamper with the devil of hell ;  
 665 Who put m' into a horrid fear,  
 Fear of my life—Make that appear.  
 Made an assault with fiends and men  
 Upon my body—Good again.

v. 675. *Sir, quoth the Lawyer, &c.*] The Knight's queries, and the Lawyer's answers, seem to have been artfully managed. The Knight has scarce told the Lawyer any thing but things false in fact: How plausible has he made his own case, and how black that of his adversaries! though he himself was the most notorious offender. This is a perfect example of a practice, than which nothing is more common in life: Plaintiffs and defendants generally represent their own case with a fair outside, and conceal what they think will impeach the justness and validity of it. From hence arise so many law-suits, and from such partial representations very often are their disappointments occasioned.

It is observable, that the Knight put his case, and proposed remedies, more like a counsel than a client; he has a command of proper law terms, and seems not to be unexperienced in litigious affairs. The Lawyer now gives his advice, which proves to be agreeable to the Knight's wishes and sentiments; they there-upon part good friends, and without any wrangling, which is a thing very rare with the Knight: The Lawyer concurs with the Knight's opinion, of the conveniencies of perjury and forgery,  
 and

- And kept me in a deadly fright,  
 670 And false imprisonment, all night.  
 Mean while they robb'd me, and my horse,  
 And stole my saddle—Worse and worse.  
 And made me mount upon the bare ridge,  
 T' avoid a wretcheder miscarriage.
- 675 Sir, quoth the lawyer, not to flatter ye,  
 You have as good and fair a battery  
 As heart can wish, and need not shame  
 The proudest man alive to claim.  
 For, if th' have us'd you, as you say,
- 680 Marry, quoth I, God give you joy ;  
 I would it were my case, I'd give  
 More than I'll say, or you'll believe :  
 I would so trounce her, and her purse,  
 I'd make her kneel for better or worse ;

and conscientiously promises him his service in the maintenance of them. (Mr. B.)

v. 676. *You have as good and fair a battery.*] This battery was of the same kind with that of Sir Andrew Aguecheek's (Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, act iv. vol. ii. 519), who, when he had struck Sebastian, (taking him for his sister Viola, who was disguised in man's clothes), and Sebastian had returned his compliment, threatens in the following manner :

*Sir Andr.* "Nay, let him alone: I'll go another way to work with him; I'll have an action of battery against him, if there be any law in Illyria: Though I struck him first, yet 'tis no matter for that."

And probably our Lawyer would have defended it much like him, who, in aggravation of the defendant's crime, in an action of battery, told the judge, "That he beat his client with a certain wooden instrument, called an iron pestle."

v. 683. *I would so trounce her, and her purse.*] The first action brought in a matrimonial case at Rome was by Carvilius, near five hundred years after the building of that city. Auli Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. iv. cap. iii.

- 685 For matrimony, and hanging here,  
 Both go by destiny so clear,  
 That you as sure may pick and choose,  
 As cross I win, and pile you lose :  
 And, if I durst, I would advance  
 690 As much in ready maintenance,  
 As upon any case I've known ;  
 But we that practise dare not own :  
 The law severely contrabands  
 Our taking bus'ness off men's hands ;  
 695 'Tis common barratry, that bears  
 Point-blank an action 'gainst our ears,  
 And crops them till there is not leather  
 To stick a pin in left of either ;  
 For which, some do the summer-fault,  
 700 And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault.  
 But you may swear at any rate,

v. 685, 686. *For matrimony and hanging here,—Both go by destiny so clear.*] Torquemeda (see Spanish Mandevile, 4th disc. fol. 102) mentions a person, who owned at the gallows, “that it was his destiny to be hanged.”

With regard to matrimony, the young fellow seems to have been of a different opinion (see L'Estrange's Fables, part i. fab. 426), who desired the prayers of the congregation when he was upon the point of matrimony. See the moral. So Nerissa (see Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, vol. ii. p. 39) speaks in the same stile with our poet :

“The ancient saying is no heresy,  
 Hanging and wiving go by destiny.”

See what Grace says to Winwife, Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, act iv. sc. iii.

v. 695. *'Tis common barratry.*] From *barret*, a wrangling suit. See Statute of Champerty, 33. ed. 1, 2. Skene de Verborum Significatione, Cowel's Interpreter, Manley, Wood's Institutes, &c. p. 417. See *Barrater*, Junii Etymologic. Anglican.

v. 697. ———— *till there is not leather.*] Edit. 1678, 1684. *No leather*, 1700, &c. v. 699,



Things not in nature, for the state :  
 For, in all courts of justice here,  
 A witness is not said to swear,  
 705 But make oath ; that is, in plain terms,  
 To forge whatever he affirms.  
 (I thank you, quoth the Knight, for that,  
 Because 'tis to my purpose pat—)  
 For Justice, though she's painted blind,  
 710 Is to the weaker side inclin'd,  
 Like Charity; else right and wrong  
 Could never hold it out so long,  
 And, like blind Fortune, with a slight,  
 Convey men's interest and right,  
 715 From Stiles's pocket, into Nokes's,  
 As easily as hocus pocus:  
 Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious,  
 And clear again, like *hiccius doctius*.

v. 699, 700. *For which, some do the summer-fault,—And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault.*] *Summer-fault*, (*Soubresalte*, Fr.) a feat of activity showed by a tumbler. Alluding to the custom of throwing unfair practitioners over the bar. See Chambers's Cyclopædia; Bailey's Dict.; Barclay's *Argenis*, lib. iii. cap. xxii. p. 392.

v. 716. *As easily as hocus pocus.*] “In all probability (says Archbishop Tillotson, Discourse against Transubstantiation) “those common juggling words, of hocus pocus, are nothing but a corruption of *Hoc est corpus*, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the church of Rome, in their trick of transubstantiation. Into such contempt by this foolish doctrine, and pretended miracle of theirs, have they brought the most sacred and venerable mystery of our religion.”

See *Hocus Pocus Junior*, Bibl. Pepsyan; *The Anatomy of Legerdemain*, or the Art of Juggling.

v. 717, 718. *Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious,—And clear again———*] The crafty part of the profession are bantered by

Then, whether you would take her life,  
 720 Or but recover her for your wife,  
 Or be content with what she has,  
 And let all other matters pass,  
 The bus'ness to the law's alone,  
 The proof is all it looks upon :  
 725 And you can want no witnesses  
 To swear to any thing you please,  
 That hardly get their mere expences  
 By th' labour of their consciences :  
 Or letting out, to hire, their ears  
 730 To affidavit-customers,

by the Clown in Shakespear. See *Measure for Measure*, act iii. vol. i. p. 357.

Mr. Butler may probably gird some of those reforming gentlemen, who, during the rebellion, divested persons unexceptionable of their property with a bad character, and restored them to it with a good one at the restoration. See a remarkable instance, *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 3d vol. of the History of the Puritans*, p. 145, 146.

v. 723. ——— *alone*, in all editions to 1704, inclusive. *All one*, in later editions.

v. 725, 726. *And you can want no witnesses—To swear to any thing you please.*] Knights of the post were common in all ages :

“ Non bene conducti vendunt perjurâ testes :

Non bene selecti judicis arca patet.”

Ovidii Amor. lib. i. el. x. 37, 38.

John Taylor, the water-poet, (see tract against Curfing and Swearing, p. 50) observes of them, “That it is to be feared, that there are some that do make a living or trade of swearing : As a fellow being asked once, of what occupation he was? made answer, that he was a witness (witness) ; which was one that for hire would swear in any man's cause, be it right or wrong.” See *Gusman de Alfarach, or Spanish Rogue*, folio, 1630, part ii. p. 164. And Mr. Walker observes (*History of Independency*, part iii. p. 27), “That the Council of State had hundreds of spies, and intelligencers, affidavit men, and knights of the post.”

It is a pity that the false witnesses in those times (and all others), by whose evidence people's lives were taken away, did  
 not

At inconsiderable values,  
 To serve for jury-men, or *tales*,  
 Although retain'd in th' hardest matters  
 Of trustees and administrators.

735 For that, quoth he, let me alone ;  
 W' have store of such, and all our own,  
 Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers,  
 The ablest of conscience-stretchers.

That's well, quoth he, but I should guess,  
 740 By weighing all advantages,  
 Your surest way is first to pitch  
 On Bongey, for a water-witch ;

not meet with the fate of Sophy, a woman, who, giving false evidence against William Bardefius, Prætor of Amsterdam, at the instance of his great enemy Mr. Henry Theodorus, Consul of that place, in order to take away his life, " had, May 3, 1561, her tongue cut out, was then hanged, had her body burnt, and publicly exposed." Baker's History of the Inquisition, p. 247.

v. 732. *To serve for jury-men, or tales.*] *Tales* is a Latin word of known signification: it is used in our common law, for a supply of men impanelled upon a jury, or inquest, and not appearing, or challenged. For in these cases the judge, upon a petition, granteth a supply to be made by the sheriff, of some men there present equal in reputation to those that were impanelled. And hereupon the very act of supplying is called, *A tales de circumstantibus*. When a whole jury is challenged, they are called *Meliores*. Cowley's Interpreter; Wood's Institute of the Common Law, p. 591; Jacob's Law Dictionary.

v. 737. *Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers.*] Dr. Downing and Steph. Marshal, who absolved the prisoners released at Brentford from their oaths, as has been before observed.

v. 742. *On Bongey, for a water-witch.*] \* Bongey was a Franciscan, and lived towards the end of the thirteenth century, a doctor of divinity in Oxford, and a particular acquaintance of Friar Bacon. In that ignorant age, every thing that seemed extraordinary was reputed magic, and so both Bacon and Bongey went

And, when y' have hang'd the conjurer,  
Y' have time enough to deal with her.

745 In th' int'rim spare for no trepans  
To draw her neck into the banes :  
Ply her with love-letters and billets,  
And bait 'em well, for quirks and quilletts,

Under the imputation of studying the black art. Bongey also publishing a treatise of natural magic, confirmed some well-meaning credulous people in this opinion ; but it was altogether groundless, for Bongey was chosen provincial of his order, being a person of most excellent parts and piety. See Collier's Dictionary, from Pitts. *De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*.

There was likewise "one Mother Bongey, who, in divers books set out with authority, is registered or chronicled by the name of the Great Witch of Rochester." See an abstract of Scott's History of Witchcraft, British Librarian, No. 4, for April 1737, p. 226.

v. 747, 748. *Ply her with love letters and billets,—And bait 'em well, for quirks and quilletts.*] The word *quillet* is often used by Shakespeare, in his *Love's Labour Lost*, act iii. vol. ii. p. 142. Upon the King of Navarre's talking with his company of love, and Dumont's saying,

"Ay marry there—some flattery for this evil——"

Longville answers,

"Oh ! some authority how to proceed,  
Some tricks—some quilletts how to cheat the devil."

The Earl of Warwick likewise uses the word, Shakespeare's First Part of Henry VI. act ii. vol. iv. p. 138.

"But in these nice sharp quilletts of the law,  
Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw."

See 2d Part of Henry VI. act iii. p. 245.

*Timon*. ——— "Consumptions sow

In hollow bones of man, strike their sharp shins,  
And mar men sparring. Crack the lawyer's voice,  
That he may never more false title plead,  
Nor sound his quilletts shrilly." *Timon of Athens*, vol. 5.

p. 274. And in his *Hamlet*, act v. vol. vii. p. 347.

Hamlet seeing the grave-digger digging up skulls, says,

*Ham*. "Why may not that be the skull of a lawyer ?  
Where be his quiddities now ? his quilletts ? his cases ?  
His tenures, and his tricks ?"

See Warner's *Albion's England*, book xiv. chap. xci. p. 369.

Mr. Peck, in his *Explanatory and Critical Notes on Shakespeare's Plays*, see *New Memoirs of the Life of Milton*, p. 230,  
upon



With trains t' inveigle and surprise  
 750 Her heedless answers and replies :  
 And, if she miss the mouse-trap lines,  
 They'll serve for other by-designs ;  
 And make an artist understand  
 To copy out her seal, or hand ;

upon the passage above from Love's Labour Lost, observes, "That *quillet*, as Minshew says, is a small parcel,—— Here we come to the point. If we look into the map of Derbyshire, we find a place called Over Seile, which parish, though surrounded by Derbyshire, is yet a quillet or small parcel of Leicestershire. The like may be observed of divers other places in other counties. These quilletts, in all sheriffs aids, scutages, and the like, it should seem, were taxed, or pretended to be taxed, sometimes with the one county, sometimes with the other, and sometimes with neither. Thus, when the sheriff of Leicester demanded those aids of the parish of Over Seile, it is probable they answered, they belonged to Derbyshire, not to Leicestershire. Again, when the sheriff of Derby demanded those aids, that they belonged to Leicestershire, and not Derbyshire. And so, by this pretty artifice, sometimes got excused from both, or at least attempted so to do.—— The word is often used in our author, and is always used to signify a quirk of the law, or quibble."

v. 754. *To copy out her seal.*] Mr. Selden observes (Notes upon the Fourth Song of Drayton's Polyolbion, p. 69), "That there were no seals before the conquest in England: no King of this land, except the Confessor, before the conquest, ever using in their charters more than subscription of name and crosses."

The punishment inflicted for counterfeiting another man's seal, was no less than abjuring the kingdom, or going into perpetual exile, as appears by a writ of King John to the sheriff of Oxford (Dugdale's Antiquit. of Warwickshire, p. 922, col. i.), wherein the King commands the sheriff to cause one Ankerill Manvers, who had been taken up for falsifying the seal of Robert de Oldbridge, to abjure the realm, and to send him without delay to the sea by some of his officers, who should see him go out of the land." Dissertation on the Antiquity and Use of Seals in England, by Mr. Lewis of Margate, 1740, p. 29.

Ibid. ————— or *hand.*] There have been artists in this way in all ages. A remarkable instance of this kind was Young, the forger of the flower pot plot, in the reign of William III.

- 755 Or find void places in the paper  
 To steal in something to intrap her ;  
 Till with her worldly goods, and body,  
 Spite of her heart, she has endow'd ye :  
 Retain all forts of witnesses,  
 760 That ply i' th' Temples, under trees ;  
 Or walk the round, with knights o' th' posts,  
 About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts ;

who was, I think, afterwards hanged for coining in Newgate. See an account of him in the Case of Blackhead and Young.

Her Grace the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough (see an Account of her Conduct, 1742) observes upon the imprisonment of the Lord Marlborough for this plot, "That, to commit a peer, there should be an affidavit from some body of the treason. Lord Romney, secretary of state, sent for one Young, who was then in jail for perjury and forgery and paid the fine to make him what they call a legal evidence ; for the court lawyers said, Young, not having lost his ears, was an irreproachable evidence." Which verifies Sir Roger L'Estrange's observation (Reflection on fab. 386, part i.), "That for a knight of the post, alluding to the practice of those times, it is but dubbing him with the title of King's evidence, and the work is done."

v. 760. *That ply i' th' Temples under trees.*] Mr. Oldham alludes to this practice, 13th Sat. of Juvenal imitated, p. 298.

"If Temple-walks, or Smithfield, never fail  
 Of plying rogues that set their souls to sale  
 To the best passenger that bids a price,  
 And make their livelihood of perjuries :  
 For God's sake, why are you so delicate,  
 And think it hard to share the common fate?"

v. 762. *About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts.*] He calls the monuments of the old knights lying cross-legged, hosts to the knights of the post : alluding to the proverb of dining with Duke Humphrey—The knights of the post walking in Westminster-Abbey about dinner-time. (Mr. W.)

See the proverb of dining with Duke Humphrey explained among the London Proverbs, Fuller's Worthies, p. 198 ; and a poem entitled The Legend of the thrice honourable, ancient, and renowned Prince, his Grace, Humphrey, Duke of St. Paul's Cathedral Walk, Surveyor of the Monuments and Tombs of Westminster,

Or wait for customers between  
 The pillar-rows in Lincoln's-inn ;  
 765 Where vouchers, forgers, common-bail,  
 And affidavit-men, ne'er fail  
 T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths,  
 According to their ears and cloaths,  
 Their only necessary tools,  
 770 Besides the gospel, and their souls.  
 And, when y' are furnish'd with all purveys,  
 I shall be ready at your service.

I would not give, quoth Hudibras,  
 A straw to understand a case,  
 775 Without the admirable skill  
 To wind and manage it at will ;  
 To veer, and tack, and steer a cause,  
 Against the weather-gage of laws ;  
 And ring the changes upon cases,  
 780 As plain as noses upon faces ;

minster, and the Temple, Patron to the Perambulators of the Piazzas in Covent-Garden, Master of King's-Bench-Hall, and one of the College's Privy-Council (penes me).

v. 767, 768. *T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths*,—According to their ears and cloaths ] Lord Clarendon gives a remarkable instance of this kind, History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 355. "An Irishman of a very mean and low condition, who afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to Mr. Pym, as an evidence of one part of the charge against the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, viz. the Earl of Strafford, in a particular in which a person of so vile a quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer, Mr. Pym gave him money to buy a fatten suit and cloak ; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence."

As you have well instructed me,  
 For which you've earn'd (here 'tis) your fee:  
 I long to practise your advice,  
 And try the subtle artifice;  
 785 To bait a letter, as you bid:  
 As, not long after, thus he did:  
 For, having pump'd up all his wit,  
 And hum'd upon it, thus he writ.

v. 782. *For which you've earn'd (here 'tis) your fee.*] The beggar's prayer for the lawyer would have suited this gentleman very well. See the Works of J. Taylor, the water poet, p. 101. "May the terms be everlasting to thee, thou man of tongue; and may contentions grow and multiply, may actions beget actions, and cases ingender cases as thick as hops; may every day of the year be a Shrove-Tuesday; let proclamations forbid fighting to increase actions of battery; that thy cassock may be three-piled, and the welts of thy gown may not grow thread-bare!"





AN  
HEROICAL EPISTLE  
OF  
HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY.





AN  
HEROICAL EPISTLE, &c.

I, who was once as great as Cæsar,  
Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar ;  
And from as fam'd a conqueror  
As ever took degree in war,  
5 Or did his exercise in battle,  
By you turn'd out to grafs with cattle :  
For since I am deny'd access  
To all my earthly happiness,  
Am fallen from the paradise  
10 Of your good graces, and fair eyes,  
Lost to the world, and you, I'm sent  
To everlasting banishment ;

This epistle was to be the result of all the fair methods the Knight was to use in gaining the Widow : it therefore required all his wit and dexterity to draw from this artful Lady an unwary answer. If the plot succeeded, he was to compel her immediately, by law, to a compliance with his desires. But the Lady was too cunning to give him such a handle as he longed for : on the contrary, her answer silenced all his pretensions. (Mr. B.)

v. 2. *Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar.*] See Daniel iv. 32, 33.—Webster's Display of Supposed Witchcraft, p. 91 to 97, inclusive.

- Where all the hopes I had t' have won  
 Your heart, being dash'd, will break my own,  
 15 Yet if you were not so severe  
 To pass your doom before you hear,  
 You'd find, upon my just defence,  
 How much y' have wrong'd my innocence.  
 That once I made a vow to you,  
 20 Which yet is unperform'd, 'tis true ;  
 But not, because it is unpaid,  
 'Tis violated, though delay'd:  
 Or, if it were, it is no fault,  
 So heinous as you'd have it thought;  
 25 To undergo the loss of ears,  
 Like vulgar hackney perjurers :  
 For there's a difference in the case,  
 Between the noble and the base;  
 Who always are observ'd t' have done't  
 30 Upon as different an account :  
 The one for great and weighty cause,  
 To save, in honour, ugly flaws;  
 For none are like to do it sooner,  
 Than those who are nicest of their honour:  
 35 The other, for base gain and pay,  
 Forswear and perjure by the day;  
 And make th' exposing and retailing

v. 53, 54. *To make the ears repair the wrong—Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue.*] Sir Hudibras seems to think it as unreasonable to punish one member for the fault of another, as the Dutchman did the application made to one part, for the cure of another. "A purse-proud Dutchman," says Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Fables*,  
 part



Their souls, and consciences, a calling.

It is no scandal, nor aspersion,

40 Upon a great and noble person,

To say, he nat'rally abhorr'd

Th' old-fashion'd trick, to keep his word,

Though 'tis perfidiousness and shame,

In meaner men, to do the same :

45 For to be able to forget

Is found more useful to the great,

Than gout, or deafness, or bad eyes,

To make 'em pass for wond'rous wise.

But though the law, on perjurers,

50 Inflicts the forfeiture of ears,

It is not just, that does exempt

The guilty, and punish the innocent;

To make the ears repair the wrong

Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue ;

55 And, when one member is forsworn,

Another to be cropp'd or torn.

And if you should, as you design,

By course of law, recover mine,

You're like, if you consider right,

60 To gain but little honour by't.

For he that for his lady's sake

Lays down his life, or limbs, at stake,

part ii. fab. 313, "was troubled with a megrim; the doctors prescribed him a clyster—the patient fell into a rage upon it: Why certainly these people are all mad (says he), who talk of curing a man's head at his tail."

- Does not so much deserve her favour  
 As he that pawns his soul to have her.
- 65 This y' have acknowledg'd I have done,  
 Although you now disdain to own :  
 But sentence what you rather ought  
 T' esteem good service, than a fault.  
 Besides, oaths are not bound to bear
- 70 That literal sense the words infer :  
 But, by the practice of the age,  
 Are to be judg'd how far th' engage ;  
 And, where the sense by custom's check'd,  
 Are found void, and of none effect.
- 75 For no man takes or keeps a vow,  
 But just as he sees others do ;  
 Nor are th' oblig'd to be so brittle,  
 As not to yield and bow a little :  
 For as best-temper'd blades are found,
- 80 Before they break, to bend quite round,  
 So truest oaths are still most tough,  
 And, though they bow, are breaking proof.  
 Then wherefore should they not b' allow'd  
 In love a greater latitude ?
- 85 For, as the law of arms approves  
 All ways to conquest, so should love's ;  
 And not to be ty'd to true or false,  
 But make that justest that prevails :

v. 113, 114. *Or who, but lovers, can converse,—Like angels, by the eye discourse ?*] \* Metaphysicians are of opinion, that angels and souls departed, being divested of all gross matter, understand each

- For how can that which is above  
 90 All empire, high and mighty love,  
 Submit its great prerogative  
 To any other power alive ?  
 Shall love, that to no crown gives place,  
 Become the subject of a case ?
- 95 The fundamental law of nature  
 Be over-rul'd by those made after ?  
 Commit the censure of its cause  
 To any, but its own great laws ?  
 Love that's the world's preservative,  
 100 That keeps all souls of things alive ;  
 Controuls the mighty power of fate,  
 And gives mankind a longer date ;  
 The life of nature, that restores,  
 As fast as time and death devours ;
- 105 To whose free gift the world does owe,  
 Not only earth, but heaven too :  
 For love's the only trade that's driven,  
 The interest of state in heaven,  
 Which nothing, but the soul of man,  
 110 Is capable to entertain.  
 For what can earth produce, but love,  
 To represent the joys above ?  
 Or who, but lovers, can converse,  
 Like angels, by the eye-discourse ?

each other's sentiments by intuition, and consequently maintain  
 a sort of conversation without the organs of speech,

The

- 115 Address and compliment by vision,  
 Make love and court by intuition ?  
 And burn in amorous flames as fierce  
 As those celestial ministers ?  
 Then how can any thing offend,  
 120 In order to so great an end ?  
 Or heav'n itself a sin resent,  
 That for its own supply was meant ?  
 That merits, in a kind mistake,  
 A pardon for th' offence's fake.  
 125 Or, if it did not, but the cause  
 Were left to th' injury of laws,

The correspondence by two persons at a great distance, mentioned by Strada, and quoted by the Guardian, No. 119, was much more extraordinary than this eye-discourse of lovers. He, in the person of Lucretius, "gives an account of the chimerical correspondence between two friends by the help of a loadstone, which had such a virtue in it that it touched two several needles. When one of these needles so touched began to move, the other, though at never so great a distance, began to move at the same time, and in the same manner. He tells us, that the two friends, being each of them possessed of one of these needles, made a kind of dial-plate, inscribing it with four and twenty letters, in the same manner that the hours of the day are marked upon the ordinary dial-plate: they then fixed the needles on each of these plates in such a manner that it could move round without impediment, so as to touch any of the four and twenty letters. Upon separating from one another into distant countries, they agreed to withdraw themselves punctually into their closets at a certain hour of the day, and to converse with one another by means of this their invention. Accordingly, when they were some hundred miles asunder, each of them shut himself up in his closet at the time appointed, and immediately cast his eye upon his dial-plate. If he had a mind to write any thing to his friend, he directed his needle to every letter that formed the words which he had occasion for, making a little pause at the end of every word or sentence, to avoid confusion: the friend, at the same time,



What tyranny can disapprove  
 There should be equity in love ?  
 For laws that are inanimate,  
 130 And feel no sense of love or hate ;  
 That have no passion of their own,  
 Nor pity to be wrought upon ;  
 Are only proper to inflict  
 Revenge on criminals as strict :  
 135 But to have power to forgive  
 Is empire, and prerogative ;  
 And 'tis in crowns a nobler gem  
 To grant a pardon, than condemn.

saw his own sympathetic needle moving itself to every letter which that of his correspondent pointed at. By this means they talked together across a whole continent, and conveyed their thoughts to one another in an instant, over cities, mountains, seas, or deserts."

v. 121. *Or heaven itself a sin resent, &c.*] \* In regard children are capable of being inhabitants of heaven, therefore it should not resent it as a crime to supply store of inhabitants for it.

v. 137, 138. *And 'tis in crowns a nobler gem—To grant a pardon, than condemn.*] This was part of Julius Cæsar's character, as given us by Sallust, in his comparison of M. Cato and C. Cæsar. Bell. Catalinar. Sallustii Op. edit. varior. 1690, p. 139. "Cæsar beneficiis, ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitæ Cato; ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus, factus; huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato nihil largiendo gloriam adeptus est." See Spectator's remark upon these two characters, vol. ii. No. 169. Vid. Heliodori Æthiopic. lib. ix. cap. xxv. p. 453, edit. Lugduni, 1611; Barclay's Argenis, lib. v. cap. i. p. 572.

Isabella (see Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, Works, vol. i. p. 366), in pleading to Angelo for her brother's life, seems to have been of this opinion.

"No ceremonies (says she) that to great ones 'longs,  
 Not the King's crown, nor the deputed sword,

The

- Then, since so few do what they ought,  
 140 'Tis great t' indulge a well-meant fault;  
 For why should he who made addrefs,  
 All humble ways, without fuccefs,  
 And met with nothing in return,  
 But infolence, affronts, and fcorn,  
 145 Not strive by wit to countermine,  
 And bravely carry his design?  
 He who was us'd so unlike a foldier,  
 Blown up with philtres of love-powder?  
 And, after letting blood, and purging,  
 150 Condemn'd to voluntary scourging:  
 Alarm'd with many a horrid fright,  
 And claw'd by goblins in the night;  
 Infulted on, revil'd, and jeer'd,  
 With rude invafion of his beard;  
 155 And, when your sex was foully scandal'd,  
 As foully by the rabble handled:

The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,  
 Become them with half so good a grace, as mercy doth."

See a remarkable instance, in the case of Bonneval, faved by Cardinal Richlieu, *La Belle Affemblée*, published 1738, vol. ii. p. 65.

v. 148. *Blown up with philtres of love-powder.*] See Eleanor Cobham's Heroical Epistle to Duke Humphrey, Drayton's Heroical Epistles, fol. 50; Shakespeare's King Henry VI. 2d part, act ii. vol. iv. p. 211, 218, act ii. 228, 231; Wieri de Præstigiis Dæmonum, lib. iii. cap. xxxix; Turkish Spy, vol. vii. book iv. let. 5.

v. 173. *You wound like Parthians, while you fly, &c.*] \* Parthians are the inhabitants of a province in Persia: they were excellent horsemen, and very exquisite at their bows; and it is reported of them, that they generally flew more upon their retreat, than they did in the engagement."

" Fidentemque

Attack'd by despicable foes,  
And drubb'd with mean and vulgar blows;  
And, after all, to be debarr'd

160 So much as standing on his guard;  
When horses, being spurr'd and prick'd,  
Have leave to kick, for being kick'd?

Or why should you, whose mother-wits  
Are furnish'd with all perquisites,

165 That with your breeding teeth begin,  
And nursing babies that lie in,  
B' allow'd to put all tricks upon  
Our cully sex, and we use none?

We who have nothing but frail vows,

170 Against your stratagems t' oppose,  
Or oaths more feeble than your own,  
By which we are no less put down?  
You wound like Parthians, while you fly,  
And kill with a retreating eye:

"Fidentemque fuga Parthum, versisque sagittis——"  
Virgilii Georgic. lib. iii. 31.

"—— Et missa Parthi post terga sagitta."  
Lucan. Pharsal. lib. i. 230.

Horatii Carm. ii. 12, 13, 14, 17, 18; Justinii Histor. lib. xli;  
Gruteri Fax Art. tom. iii. par. i. cap. xvi. p. 515; Lewis's History  
of the Parthian Empire, p. 4, 5.

The Russians and Tartars shoot forwards and backwards. See  
Dr. Giles Fletcher's Account of Russia, Purchase's Pilgrims, part. iii.  
lib. iii. p. 437. And the author of a book, entitled, A Discourse  
of the Original of the Cossacs and Precopian Tartars, 1762, ob-  
serves, p. 52, "That the Tartars shoot their arrows behind them  
with such exactness as to hit those that pursue them at two hun-  
dred paces distance."

Mr. Prior (as Mr. Warburton observes) borrowed this thought  
to adorn his ode on a lady that refused to continue a dispute.

"So when the Parthian turns his speed," &c.

- 175 Retire the more, the more we press,  
 To draw us into ambushes :  
 As pirates all false colours wear,  
 T' entrap th' unwary mariner ;  
 So women, to surprise us, spread
- 180 The borrow'd flags of white and red :  
 Display 'em thicker on their cheeks,  
 Than their old grandmothers, the Picts ;  
 And raise more devils with their looks,  
 Than conjurers less subtle books.
- 185 Lay trains of amorous intrigues,  
 In towers, and curls, and perriwigs,  
 With greater art and cunning rear'd,  
 Than Philip Nye's thanksgiving beard ;  
 Prepost'rously t' entice and gain
- 190 Those to adore 'em they disdain ;  
 And only draw 'em in to clog,  
 With idle names, a catalogue.  
 A lover is, the more he's brave,  
 T' his mistress, but the more a slave ;

v. 188. *Than Philip Nye's thanksgiving beard.*] \* One of the Assembly of Divines, very remarkable for the singularity of his beard.

Nye was a leading Independent preacher : " He was put into Dr. Featly's living at Aston, and rode thither every Lord's day in triumph, in a coach drawn with four horses, to exercise there." See *Levite's Scourge*, 1644, p. 61.

There was a curious pulpit and paper war carried on (says Mr. Byron) between this Saint and William Lilly the conjurer, about the lawfulness of his art, though Lilly was employed for the service of the Parliament. Which dispute (like many others) was interlarded with some pretty epithets, personal altercations, &c. " For Nye bleated forth his judgment publicly against Lilly  
 and



- 195 And whatsoever she commands,  
 Becomes a favour from her hands;  
 Which he's oblig'd t' obey, and must,  
 Whether it be unjust or just.  
 Then, when he is compell'd by her  
 200 T' adventures he would else forbear,  
 Who, with his honour, can withstand,  
 Since force is greater than command?  
 And, when necessity's obey'd,  
 Nothing can be unjust or bad:
- 205 And therefore, when the mighty powers  
 Of love, our great ally, and yours,  
 Join'd forces not to be withstood  
 By frail enamour'd flesh and blood;  
 All I have done, unjust or ill,  
 210 Was in obedience to your will;  
 And all the blame that can be due,  
 Falls to your cruelty and you.  
 Nor are those scandals I confess'd  
 Against my will and interest

and astrology; and in return Lilly called Nye a Jesuitical Presbyterian (he was an Independent), and says, that to be quit with him, he urged Abbot Causinus the Jesuit's approbation of astrology; and concluded, *Sic canibus Catulos*," &c. Lilly's Life, p. 83.

At the Restoration it was debated several hours together, whether Philip Nye and John Goodwin should not be excepted for life, because they had acted so highly (none more so, except Hugh Peters) against the King; and it came at last to this result, That if, after the 1st of September, the same year, they should accept any preferment, they should in law stand as if they had been excepted totally for life. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 369.

- 215 More than is daily done of course,  
 By all men, when they're under force.  
 Whence some, upon the rack, confess  
 What th' hangman and their prompters  
 But are no sooner out of pain, [please;  
 220 Than they deny it all again.  
 But, when the devil turns confessor,  
 Truth is a crime he takes no pleasure  
 To hear or pardon, like the founder  
 Of liars, whom they all claim under:  
 225 And therefore, when I told him none,  
 I think it was the wiser done.  
 Nor am I without precedent,  
 The first that on th' adventure went;  
 All mankind ever did of course,  
 230 And daily does the same, or worse.  
 For what romance can shew a lover,  
 That had a lady to recover,  
 And did not steer a nearer course,  
 To fall a-board in his amours?  
 235 And what at first was held a crime,  
 Has turn'd to honourable in time.  
 To what a height did infant Rome,  
 By ravishing of women, come?

v. 230. *And daily does*, in all editions to 1716, inclusive; *daily do*, 1726, &c.

v. 233. *And did not steer a nearer course.*] This is true of some romances, particularly of Amadis de Gaul and Amadis de Greece, but of no others that I know of.

v. 237. *To what a height did infant Rome*, &c.] \* When Romulus had built Rome, he made it an asylum or place of refuge for all malefactors, and others obnoxious to the laws, to retire to: by which means it soon came to be very populous; but when he

When men upon their spouses seiz'd,  
 240 And freely married where they pleas'd :  
 They ne'er forswore themselves, nor ly'd,  
 Nor, in the mind they were in, dy'd ;  
 Nor took the pains t' address and sue,  
 Nor play'd the masquerade to woo ;  
 245 Disdain'd to stay for friends consents,  
 Nor juggled about settlements;  
 Did need no licence, nor no priest,  
 Nor friends, nor kindred, to assist ;  
 Nor lawyers, to join land and money,  
 250 In th' holy state of matrimony,  
 Before they settled hands and hearts  
 Till alimony, or death, departs :  
 Nor would endure to stay until  
 Th' had got the very bride's good will,  
 255 But took a wife and shorter course  
 To win the ladies, down-right force :  
 And justly made 'em prisoners then,  
 As they have, often since, us men ;  
 With acting plays, and dancing jigs,  
 260 The luckiest of all love's intrigues ;  
 And, when they had them at their pleasure,  
 Then talk'd of love and flames at leisure :

began to consider, that without propagation it would soon be destitute of inhabitants, he invented several fine shows, and invited the young Sabine women, then neighbours to them; and, when they had them secure, they ravished them; from whence proceeded so numerous an offspring.

v. 252. *Till alimony, or death, departs.*] \* *Alimony* is an allowance that the law gives the woman for her separate maintenance upon living from her husband. That and death are reckoned the only separations in a married state.

For, after matrimony's over,  
 He that holds out, but half a lover,  
 265 Deserves, for every minute more,  
 Than half a year of love before ;  
 For which the dames in contemplation  
 Of that best way of application,  
 Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,  
 270 By suit, or treaty, to be won ;  
 And such as all posterity  
 Could never equal, nor come nigh.  
 For women first were made for men,  
 Not men for them.—It follows, then,  
 275 That men have right to every one,  
 And they no freedom of their own :  
 And therefore men have power to chuse,  
 But they no charter to refuse.  
 Hence 'tis apparent, that, what course  
 280 Soe'er we take to your amours,  
 Though by the indirectest way,  
 'Tis no injustice, nor foul play ;  
 And that you ought to take that course,  
 As we take you, for better or worse ;  
 285 And gratefully submit to those

v. 305, 306. ————— *Some precious gifted teachers,—Un-  
 reverently reputed teachers.]* Sir Roger L'Estrange (Key to Hudibras) mentions Mr. Case as one ; and Mr. Butler, in his Posthumous Works, mentions Dr. Burges and Hugh Peters : and the writer of A Letter to the Earl of Pembroke, 1647, p. 9, observes of Peters, " That it was offered to be publicly proved, that he got both mother and daughter with child." " I am glad (says an anonymous person, Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 734) to hear, that Mr. Peters shews his head again : it was reported here  
 (Amsterdam,



Who you, before another, chose.  
 For why should every savage beast  
 Exceed his great Lord's interest?  
 Have freer power, than he, in grace  
 290 And nature, o'er the creature has?  
 Because the laws he since has made,  
 Have cut off all the power he had;  
 Retrench'd the absolute dominion  
 That nature gave him over women;  
 295 When all his power will not extend  
 One law of nature to suspend:  
 And but to offer to repeal  
 The smallest clause is to rebel.  
 This, if men rightly understood  
 300 Their privilege, they would make good;  
 And not, like fots, permit their wives  
 T' encroach on their prerogatives;  
 For which sin they deserve to be  
 Kept, as they are, in slavery:  
 305 And this some precious gifted teachers,  
 Unreverently reputed leachers,  
 And disobey'd in making love,  
 Have vow'd to all the world to prove,

(Amsterdam, May 5, 1655) that he was found with a whore a bed, and that he grew mad, and said nothing but O blood, O blood, that troubles me." See more, Committee-men carried, by S. S. 1647, 2d part, act ii. p. 6; A Quarrel between Tower-hill and Tyburn, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. ii. No. 2, p. 3; History of Independency, part ii. p. 181. part. iv. p. 15, &c.; Dialogue between Mr. Guthry and Mr. Giffan, 1661, p. 22.

And make ye suffer, as you ought,  
 310 For that uncharitable fault.  
 But I forget myself, and rove  
 Beyond th' instructions of my love.  
 Forgive me, Fair, and only blame  
 Th' extravagancy of my flame,  
 315 Since 'tis too much at once to show  
 Excess of love and temper too.  
 All I have said that's bad and true,  
 Was never meant to aim at you;  
 Who have so sovereign a controul  
 320 O'er that poor slave of yours, my soul,  
 That, rather than to forfeit you,  
 Has ventur'd loss of heaven too;  
 Both with an equal power possess'd,  
 To render all that serve you bless'd:  
 325 But none like him, who's destin'd either  
 To have, or lose you, both together.  
 And if you'll but this fault release,  
 (For so it must be, since you please)  
 I'll pay down all that vow, and more,  
 330 Which you commanded, and I swore,

v. 349. *Of all her sex most excellent.*]

"O Dido, primrose of perfection."

Cotton's Virgil Travestie, b. i. See Don Quixote, vol. ii. chap. iii. p. 45.

v. 351. *Then gave it to his faithful Squire.*] The quaint superscription of this famous letter, and the solemn manner of the Knight's delivering it, with directions to his Squire, is very diverting. It puts me in mind of the like solemnity in Don Quixote, b. iii. chap. xi. p. 284, which if the reader pleases to compare

- And expiate upon my skin  
 Th' arrears in full of all my sin.  
 For 'tis but just that I should pay  
 Th' accruing penance, for delay,  
 335 Which shall be done, until it move  
 Your equal pity and your love.
- The Knight perusing this Epistle,  
 Believ'd h' had brought her to his whistle;  
 And read it like a jocund lover,  
 340 With great applause t' himself, twice over;  
 Subscrib'd his name, but at a fit  
 And humble distance to his wit;  
 And dated it with wond'rous art,  
 Giv'n from th' bottom of his heart;  
 345 Then seal'd it with his coat of love,  
 A smoking faggot,—and above,  
 Upon a scroll—I burn and weep,  
 And near it—For her Ladyship,  
 Of all her sex most excellent,  
 350 These to her gentle hands present.  
 Then gave it to his faithful Squire,  
 With lessons how t' observe and eye her.

pare with the scene before him, it may add to his diversion; and he will be pleased to find, that our Knight exactly adheres to the laws of knight-errantry, (Mr. B.)

v. 352. *With lessons how t' observe and eye her.*] Don Quixote, when he sent his Squire Sancho to his mistress Dulcinea del Toboso (see vol. iii. chap. x. p. 85), gives him the following directions: "Go then, auspicious youth, and have a care of being daunted when thou approachest the beams of that refulgent sun of beauty—Observe and engrave in thy memory the manner

She first consider'd which was better,  
To send it back, or burn the letter.  
355 But, gueſſing that it might import,  
Though nothing elſe, at leaſt her ſport,  
She open'd it, and read it out,  
With many a ſmile and leering flout;  
Reſolv'd to anſwer it in kind,  
360 And thus perform'd what ſhe deſign'd.

of this reception : mark whether her colour changes upon the delivery of thy commiſſion ; whether her looks betray any emotion or concern when ſhe hears my name. In ſhort, obſerve all her actions, every motion, every geſture ; for, by the accurate relation of theſe things, I ſhall divine the ſecrets of her breaſt, and draw juſt inferences ſo far as this imports to my amour."





THE  
LADY'S ANSWER  
TO  
THE KNIGHT.





THE

LADY'S ANSWER, &c.

THAT you're a beast, and turn'd to grafs,  
 Is no strange news, nor ever was,  
 At least to me, who once, you know,  
 Did from the pound replevin you,  
 5 When both your sword and spurs were won,  
 In combat, by an Amazon :  
 That sword, that did (like fate) determine  
 Th' inevitable death of vermin,  
 And never dealt its furious blows,  
 10 But cut the throats of pigs and cows,  
 By Trulla was, in single fight,  
 Disarm'd and wrested from its Knight ;  
 Your heels degraded of your spurs,  
 And in the stocks close prisoners,

v. 4. *Did from the pound replevin you.*] Replevin, the releasing of cattle, or other goods distrained, with surety to answer the distrainer's suit. See Jacob's Law Dictionary, and Bailey.

v. 13. *Your heels degraded of your spurs.*] To this the author of Butler's Ghost refers, cant. i. p. 89.

- 15 Where still they'd lain, in base restraint,  
 If I, in pity of your complaint,  
 Had not, on honourable conditions,  
 Releas'd 'em from the worst of prisons;  
 And what return that favour met,
- 20 You cannot (though you would) forget;  
 When, being free, you strove t' evade  
 The oaths you had in prison made;  
 Forswore yourself, and first deny'd it,  
 But after own'd and justify'd it:
- 25 And when y' had falsely broke one vow,  
 Absolv'd yourself, by breaking two.  
 For while you sneakingly submit,  
 And beg for pardon at our feet,  
 Discourag'd by your guilty fears,
- 30 To hope for quarter for your ears;  
 And, doubting, 'twas in vain to sue;  
 You claim us boldly as your due;  
 Declare that treachery and force,  
 To deal with us, is th' only course;
- 35 We have no title nor pretence  
 To body, foul, or conscience:

“ You look, as if y' had something in ye,  
 Much different from the quondam ninny,  
 That sat with hamper'd foot i' th' stocks,  
 Dispersing his insipid jokes.”

And perhaps, as Bertram observes of Parolles the coward (see Shakespeare's play, entitled “ All's well that end's well,” act iv.), “ His heels deserved it, for usurping his spurs so long.”

In England, when a Knight was degraded, his gilt spurs were beaten from his heels, and his sword taken from him and broken. See Sir William Segar's book, *Of Honour Civil and Military*,



- But ought to fall to that man's share  
 That claims us for his proper ware.  
 These are the motives which t' induce,  
 40 Or fright us into love, you use :  
 A pretty new way of gallanting,  
 Between solliciting and ranting ;  
 Like sturdy beggars, that entreat  
 For charity at once and threat.
- 45 But, since you undertake to prove  
 Your own propriety in love,  
 As if we were but lawful prize  
 In war between two enemies ;  
 Or forfeitures, which every lover,  
 50 That would but sue for, might recover ;  
 It is not hard to understand  
 The myst'ry of this bold demand ;  
 That cannot at our persons aim,  
 But something capable of claim.
- 55 'Tis not those paultry counterfeit  
 French stones, which in our eyes you set,  
 But our right diamonds, that inspire  
 And set your am'rous hearts on fire :

tary, lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 75. Selden's Titles of Honour, 2d edit. 2d part, chap. v. p. 787.

v. 43, 44. *Like sturdy beggars, that entreat—For charity at once and threat.*] It is observed of the beggars in Spain, that they are very proud, and, when they ask an alms, it is in a very imperious and domineering way. See Lady's Travels into Spain, part the last, p. 228.

v. 57. *But our right diamonds, that inspire.*] The Tatler seems in one instance to be of a different opinion (No. 151). "What jewel

- Nor can those false St. Martin's beads  
 60 Which on our lips you lay for reds,  
 And make us wear like Indian dames,  
 Add fuel to your scorching flames;  
 But those true rubies of the rock,  
 Which in our cabinets we lock.
- 65 'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth,  
 That you are so transported with;  
 But those we wear about our necks,  
 Produce those amorous effects:  
 Nor is't those threads of gold, our hair,  
 70 The perriwigs you make us wear;  
 But those bright guineas in our chests,  
 That light the wild-fire in your breasts.  
 These love-tricks I've been vers'd in so,  
 That all their sly intrigues I know,
- 75 And can unriddle by their tones,  
 Their mystic cabals and jargons:  
 Can tell what passions, by their sounds,  
 Pine for the beauties of my grounds;  
 What raptures fond and amorous
- 80 O' th' charms and graces of my house:

jewel (says he) can the charming Cleora place in her ears that can please her beholders so much as her eyes?—The cluster of diamonds upon her breast can add no beauty to the fair chest of ivory that supports it. It may indeed tempt a man to steal a woman, but not to love her."

v. 61. *And make us wear, like Indian dames, &c.*] Who wore stones hung at their lips (Mr. W) The Brasilians do so, as Maffeus affirms, Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. v. b. ix. p. 906. See Knivet's Account, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 1225; and an account of the several nations

What ecstasy, and scorching flame,  
 Burns for my money, in my name :  
 What, from the unnatural desire  
 To beasts and cattle, takes its fire ;  
 85 What tender sigh, and trickling tear,  
 Longs for a thousand pounds a-year ;  
 And languishing transports are fond  
 Of statute, mortgage, bill, and bond.

These are th' attracts which most men fall  
 90 Enamour'd, at first sight, withal ;  
 To these th' address with serenades,  
 And court with balls and masquerades ;  
 And yet, for all the yearning pain  
 Y' have suffer'd for their loves, in vain,  
 95 I fear they'll prove so nice and coy,  
 To have, and t' hold, and to enjoy ;  
 That, all your oaths and labour lost,  
 They'll ne'er turn ladies of the post.

This is not meant to disapprove  
 100 Your judgment, in your choice of love,  
 Which is so wise, the greatest part  
 Of mankind study't as an art ;

tions that wear stones in their lips, Dr. Bulwer's Artificial Change-  
 ling, sc. xi.

v. 65. *'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth, &c.*] In the History of Don Fenise, a romance, translated from the Spanish of Francisco de Las Coveras, 1651, Don Antonio, speaking of his mistress Charity, p. 269, says, " My covetousness, exceeding my love, counselled me, that it was better to have gold in money, than in threads of hair ; and to possess pearls that resembled teeth, than teeth that were like pearls."

- For love should, like a deodand,  
 Still fall to th' owner of the land :
- 105 And, where there's substance for its ground,  
 Cannot but be more firm and sound  
 Than that which has the slighter basis  
 Of airy virtue, wit, and graces ;  
 Which is of such thin subtlety,
- 110 It steals and creeps in at the eye,  
 And, as it can't endure to stay,  
 Steals out again, as nice a way.
- But love, that its extraction owns  
 From solid gold, and precious stones,
- 115 Must, like its shining parents, prove  
 As solid and as glorious love.  
 Hence 'tis, you have no way t' express

v. 103. — *Like a deodand.*] A thing given, or rather forfeited to God, for the pacification of his wrath in case of misadventure. See Manley's Interpreter ; Jacob's Law Dictionary ; Wood's Institute of the Common Law of England, p. 212, 213.

v. 123, 124. *This is the way all parents prove,—In managing their children's love.*] The author of the Devil upon Two Sticks gives an instance of this, in the case of a delicate young lady, whom her prudent parents prostituted to the embraces of an old brute. " The beastly sot (says he) was rival to one of a very agreeable character ; their fortunes were equal ; but, I dare say, you'll laugh at the merit which preferred this worthy to the choice of the mother. You must know he had a pigeon-house upon his estate, which the other had not : this turned the balance in his favour, and determined the fate of that unfortunate lady." See Tatler, No. 185, 188 ; Spectator, No. 15, 181.

v. 127. *Cast earth to earth, as in the grave.*] Alluding to the burial office, which was scandalously ridiculed in those times. One Brook, a London lecturer, at the burial of Mr. John Gough,  
 of



Our charms and graces, but by these;  
 For what are lips, and eyes, and teeth,  
 120 Which beauty invades and conquers with;  
 But rubies, pearls, and diamonds,  
 With which a philtre love commands.

This is the way all parents prove,  
 In managing their children's love;  
 125 That force 'em t' intermarry and wed,  
 As if th' were bur'ing of the dead;  
 Cast earth to earth, as in the grave,  
 To join in wedlock all they have;  
 And, when the settlement's in force,  
 130 Take all the rest, for better or worse:  
 For money has a power above  
 The stars, and fate, to manage love;

of St. James's, Duke's place, within Aldgate, London, used the following words:

" Ashes to ashes, dust to dust;  
 Here's the pit, and in thou must."

Mercurius Rusticus, No. 9, p 97.

Mr. Cheynel behaved as remarkably at the funeral of Mr. Chillingworth. After a reflecting speech upon the deceased, he threw his book, entitled, *The Religion of Protestants, a safe way to Salvation*, into the grave, saying, " Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which has seduced so many precious souls: earth to earth, dust to dust: Get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou may'st rot with the author, and see corruption." Mr. Neale's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 102, from Chillingworth's *Life*, p. 314.

v. 131, 132. *For money has a power above—The stars, and fate, to manage love.*] See Butler's *Ghost*, cant. i. p. 61. How small a matter will sometimes preponderate in this case appears from the *Spectator*, No. 15, who mentions a young lady who was warmly solicited by a couple of importunate rivals, who, for many months together, did all they could to recommend themselves by complacency

- Whose arrows learned poets hold,  
That never miss, are tipp'd with gold.  
135 And, though some say, the parents claims  
To make love in their children's names,  
Who, many times, at once provide  
The nurse, the husband, and the bride,  
Feel darts and charms, attracts and flames,  
140 And woo and contract in their names;  
And, as they christen, use to marry 'em,  
And, like their gossips, answer for 'em:  
Is not to give in matrimony,  
But sell and prostitute for money.  
145 'Tis better than their own betrothing,  
Who often do't for worse than nothing:  
And, when they're at their own dispose,  
With greater disadvantage chuse.  
All this is right; but, for the course  
150 You take to do't, by fraud, or force,  
'Tis so ridiculous, as soon  
As told, 'tis never to be done,  
No more than setters can betray,  
That tell what tricks they are to play.  
155 Marriage at best is but a vow,  
Which all men either break, or bow:

gency of behaviour and agreeableness of conversation. At length, when the competition was doubtful, and the lady undetermined in her choice, one of the young lovers luckily bethought himself of adding a supernumerary lace to his liveries, which had so good an effect, that he married her the very week after.

- Then what will those forbear to do,  
 Who perjure, when they do but woo?  
 Such as before-hand swear and lye,  
 160 For earnest to their treachery;  
 And, rather than a crime confess,  
 With greater strive to make it less:  
 Like thieves, who, after sentence past,  
 Maintain their innocence to the last;  
 165 And when their crimes were made appear,  
 As plain as witnesses can swear,  
 Yet, when the wretches come to die,  
 Will take upon their death a lye.  
 Nor are the virtues, you confess'd  
 170 T' your ghostly father, as you guess'd,  
 So slight, as to be justify'd,  
 By being as shamefully deny'd.  
 As if you thought your word would pass,  
 Point-blank on both sides of a case;  
 175 Or credit were not to be lost,  
 B' a brave knight-errant of the post,  
 That eats, perfidiously, his word,  
 And swears his ears, thro' a two inch board;  
 Can own the same thing, and disown,  
 180 And perjure booty, *pro* and *con*;

v. 133. *Whose arrows, learned poets hold, &c.*] \* The poets feign Cupid to have two sorts of arrows, the one tipped with gold and the other with lead; the golden always inspire and inflame love in the person he wounds with them; but, on the contrary, the leaden create the utmost aversion and hatred. With the first of these he shot Apollo, and with the other Daphne, according to Ovid.

- Can make the gospel serve his turn,  
 And help him out, to be forsworn;  
 When 'tis laid hands upon, and kifs'd,  
 To be betray'd and fold, like Christ.
- 185 These are the virtues, in whose name,  
 A right to all the world you claim,  
 And boldly challenge a dominion,  
 In grace and nature, o'er all women:  
 Of whom no less will satisfy,
- 190 Than all the sex, your tyranny.  
 Although you'll find it a hard province,  
 With all your crafty frauds and covins,  
 To govern such a num'rous crew,  
 Who, one by one, now govern you:
- 195 For if you all were Solomons,  
 And wise and great as he was once,  
 You'll find they're able to subdue,  
 (As they did him) and baffle you.  
 And, if you are impos'd upon,
- 200 'Tis by your own temptation done,  
 That with your ignorance invite,  
 And teach us how to use the flight.  
 For when we find y' are still more taken

v. 183. *When 'tis laid hands upon, and kifs'd.*] The way of taking an oath is by laying the right hand upon the four evangelists, which denominates it a corporal oath. This method was not always complied with in those iniquitous times.

In the trial of Mr. Christopher Love, in the year 1651, one Jaquel, an evidence, laid his hand upon his buttons, and not upon the book, when the oath was tendered him; and, when he was questioned for it, he answered, I am as good as under an oath. (Abridgement of the State Trials, vol. i. part ii. octavo, 1720, p. 602.)



- With false attracts of our own making,  
 205 Swear that's a rose, and that a stone,  
 Like fots, to us that laid it on ;  
 And what we did but slightly prime,  
 Most ignorantly daub in rhyme ;  
 You force us, in our own defences,  
 210 To copy beams and influences ;  
 To lay perfections on the graces,  
 And draw attracts upon our faces ;  
 And, in compliance to your wit,  
 Your own false jewels counterfeit.  
 215 For, by the practice of those arts,  
 We gain a greater share of hearts ;  
 And those deserve in reason most,  
 That greatest pains and study cost :  
 For great perfections are, like heav'n,  
 220 Too rich a present to be given.  
 Nor are those master-strokes of beauty  
 To be perform'd without hard duty ;  
 Which, when they're nobly done, and well,  
 The simple natural excell.  
 225 How fair and sweet the planted rose  
 Beyond the wild in hedges grows !

p. 602.) And in the trial of the brave Colonel Morrice (who kept Pontefract castle for the King) at York, by Thorp and Puleston, when he challenged one Brook, his professed enemy, the court answered, he spoke too late, Brook was sworn already. Brook being asked the question whether he were sworn or no, replied he had not yet kissed the book—The court answered, that was no matter, it was but a ceremony, he was recorded sworn, and there was no speaking against a record. Walker's History of Independency, part ii. p. 250.

- For, without art, the noblest seeds  
 Of flow'rs degen'rate into weeds.  
 How dull and rugged, ere 'tis ground  
 230 And polish'd, looks a diamond?  
 Though paradise were e'er so fair,  
 It was not kept so, without care.  
 The whole world, without art and dress,  
 Would be but one great wilderness;  
 235 And mankind but a savage herd,  
 For all that nature has conferr'd.  
 This does but rough-hew and design,  
 Leaves art to polish and refine.  
 Though women first were made for men,  
 240 Yet men were made for them again:  
 For when (our-witted by his wife)  
 Man first turn'd tenant but for life,  
 If women had not interven'd,  
 How soon had mankind had an end!  
 245 And that it is in being yet,  
 To us alone, you are in debt.  
 And where's your liberty of choice,  
 And our unnatural no-voice?  
 Since all the privilege you boast,  
 250 And falsely usurp'd, or vainly lost,  
 Is now our right, to whose creation  
 You owe your happy restoration.

v. 277. *While, like the mighty Prester John, &c.*] \* Prester John, an absolute prince, Emperor of Abythinia or Ethiopia. One of them is reported to have had seventy kings for his vassals, and so superb and arrogant, that none durst look upon him without his permission. See Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, book vi. chap. x.

- And if we had not weighty cause  
 To not appear in making laws,  
 255 We could, in spite of all your tricks,  
 And shallow formal politics,  
 Force you our managements t' obey,  
 As we to yours (in shew) give way.  
 Hence 'tis that while you vainly strive  
 260 T' advance your high prerogative,  
 You basely, after all your braves,  
 Submit, and own yourselves our slaves :  
 And 'cause we do not make it known,  
 Nor publicly our int'rests own ;  
 265 Like fots, suppose we have no shares  
 In ordering you and your affairs :  
 When all your empire and command  
 You have from us, at second hand :  
 As if a pilot, that appears  
 270 To sit still only, while he steers,  
 And does not make a noise and stir,  
 Like every common mariner,  
 Knew nothing of the card, nor star,  
 And did not guide the man of war :  
 275 Nor we, because we don't appear  
 In councils, do not govern there :  
 While, like the mighty Prester John,  
 Whose person none dares look upon,

P. 353. See various interpretations of his name, Ludolfi Histor.  
 Æthiopic. lib. ii. cap. i. sec. xiii. id. ib. sec. xxiii ; Sir John Man-  
 deville's Voyages and Travels, edit. 1727, chap. xxvii. xxviii. xxix ;  
 Spanish Mandeville, 2d book, folio, 55, 56, 57 ; The Voyage and  
 Adventures of Hernando Mendez Pinto, chap. iii. p. 5 ; Purchas's  
 Pilgrims,

But is preserv'd in close disguise,  
 280 From being made cheap to vulgar eyes,  
 W' enjoy as large a power unseen,  
 To govern him, as he does men :

Pilgrims, part ii. lib. vii. chap. v. p. 1127 ; J. Taylor's Works, p. 166 ; Heylin's Cosmography, 1670, p. 986 ; Collier's Dictionary.

" But, if his purpose do not vary,  
 He means to fetch one more vagary,  
 To see, before his coming back,  
 The mighty bounds of Prester Jack."

Mr. W. Austin's Panegyric Verses upon T. Coryat, and his Crudities ; see likewise J. Donne's.

v. 278, 279, 280. *Whose person none dares look upon,—But is preserv'd in close disguise —From being made cheap to vulgar eyes* ] Sir Francis Alvarez, a Portugal priest. in his voyage to the court of Prete Janni (see Purchas's Pilgrims, part ii. p. 1082), observes, "That he commonly sheweth himself thrice a year, on Christmas-day, on Easter-day, and on Holy Rood-day in September. And the cause why he thus sheweth himself thrice, is because his grandfather, whose name was Alexander, was kept three years secret after his death by his servants, who governed the country all the mean while ; for, until that time. none of the people might see their King ; neither was he seen of any, but a few of his servants. And, at the request of the people, the father of David, one of their Emperors, shewed himself three days ; and this King also doth the like. See Le Blanc's Voyages and Travels, part ii. chap. xi. p. 227.

v. 283, 284 *And, in the right of our Pope Joan,—Make emperors at our feet fall down.*] This is a notable gird upon Pope Alexander III. who had a meeting with the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa at Venice (Sir W. Segar says, in the year 1166, Sir Paul Ricaut in the year 1177) ; the following account of which is given by Sir W. Seager (Of Honour Military and Civil, chap. xxvii. p. 152) : "The Emperor being arrived at Venice, the Pope was set in a rich chair at the church door.—Before the Pope's feet a carpet of purple was spread upon the ground ; the Emperor, being come to the said carpet, forthwith fell down, and from thence (upon his knees) went towards the Pope to kiss his feet ; which done, the Pope with his hand lifted him up.

"From thence they passed together unto the great altar, in St. Mark's



And, in the right of our Pope Joan,  
 Make emp'rors at our feet fall down ;  
 285 Or Joan de Pucel's braver name  
 Our right to arms and conduct claim ;

Mark's church, whereon was set the table of precious stones, which at this day is reputed one of the greatest treasures in Europe. Some have reported, that the Emperor did prostrate himself before the altar, and the Pope set his foot on his neck : While this was a doing, the clergy sung the psalm of David, which saith, Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis ; which the Emperor hearing, said, Non tibi, sed Petro : The Pope answered, Et mihi et Petro." See Sir Paul Ricaut's History of the Popes, p. 246 ; Mr. L. Howel's History of the Pontificate, p. 341 ; Wolfii Lexicon. Memorab. par. i. p. 375. par. ii. p. 425 ; Fougasse's History of Venice, by Shute, part i. p. 109 ; Miffon's Voyage, vol. i. p. 173, 177. See an account of Pope Hildebrand's excommunication and barbarous usage of the Emperor Henry IV. in Platina and Genebrard. Chronic. ann. 1073.

v. 285. *Or Joan de Pucel's braver name.*] \* Joan of Arc, called also the Pucelle, or maid of Orleans. She was born at the town of Damremi on the Meuse, daughter of James d'Arc and Isabella Romee, was bred up a shepherdess in the country. At the age of eighteen or twenty, she pretended to an express commission from God to go to the relief of Orleans, then besieged by the English, and defended by John Comte de Dennis, and almost reduced to the last extremity. She went to the coronation of Charles VII. when he was almost ruined. She knew that prince in the midst of his nobles, though meanly habited. The doctors of divinity and members of parliament openly declared that there was something supernatural in her conduct. She sent for a sword that lay in the tomb of a knight, which was behind the great altar of the church of St. Catharine de Forbois, upon the blade of which the cross and fleur de lis were engraven, which put the King in a very great surprise, in regard none besides himself knew of it : Upon this he sent her with the command of some troops, with which she relieved Orleans, and drove the English from it, defeated Talbot at the battle of Pattai, and recovered Champagne. At last she was unfortunately taken prisoner, in a sally at Champagne, in 1430, and tried for a witch or forcerefs, condemned, and burnt in Rouen market-place, in May 1430.

Who, though a spinster, yet was able  
To serve France for a grand constable.

- We make and execute all laws,  
290 Can judge the judges and the cause ;  
Prescribe all rules of right or wrong  
To th' long robe and the longer tongue ;  
'Gainst which the world has no defence,  
But our more powerful eloquence.  
295 We manage things of greatest weight,  
In all the world's affairs of state ;  
Are ministers of war and peace,  
That sway all nations, how we please.  
We rule all churches, and their flocks,  
300 Heretical and orthodox,  
And are the heavenly vehicles  
O' th' spirits in all conventicles :  
By us is all commerce and trade  
Improv'd, and manag'd, and decay'd ;  
305 For nothing can go off so well,  
Nor bears that price, as what we sell.

Mr. Anstis observes (Register of the Garter, vol. i. p. 433), "That Joan the maid of Orleans, for her valiant actions, was ennobled, and had a grant of arms, dated Jan. 16, 1429, and her pursuivant named Hear de Liz."

See a further account of her, Mezeray's History of France, translated by Bulteel, vol. i. p. 453.

v. 288. *To serve France for a grand constable.*] All this is a satire on King Charles II. who was governed so much by his mistresses ; particularly this line seems to allude to his French mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, given by that Court, whom she served in the important post of governing King Charles as they directed. (Mr. W.) See Mr. Fenton's Observations upon Mr. Waller's Poems, p. 78, 79.

J. Davies,

- We rule in every public meeting,  
 And make men do what we judge fitting ;  
 Are magistrates in all great towns,  
 310 Where men do nothing but wear gowns.  
 We make the man of war strike fail,  
 And to our braver conduct veil,  
 And, when h' has chac'd his enemies,  
 Submit to us upon his knees.
- 315 Is there an officer of state,  
 Untimely rais'd, or magistrate,  
 That's haughty and imperious ?  
 He's but a journeyman to us ;  
 That, as he gives us cause to do't,  
 320 Can keep him in, or turn him out.
- We are your guardians that increase,  
 Or waste your fortunes how we please ;  
 And, as you humour us, can deal,  
 In all your matters, ill or well.
- 325 'Tis we that can dispose alone,  
 Whether your heirs shall be your own,

J. Davies, in his relation of Achen, observes, that the women there are the King's chief counsellors ; and that a woman was his admiral. See Purchase's Pilgrims, part. i. lib. iii. c. i. § v. p. 122.

v. 290. *Can judge the judges and the cause,*]

“ Make rev'rend judges speak with awe,  
 And a bad title good in law.”

Hudibras's Ghost, canto ii. p. 62.

v. 311, 312. *We make the men of war strike fail,—And to our braver conduct veil.*] Alluding probably to Sir William Waller. See Mr. Cleveland's Character of a London Diurnal.

v. 331,

- To whose integrity you must,  
 In spite of all your caution, trust;  
 And, 'less you fly beyond the seas,  
 330 Can fit you with what heirs we please;  
 And force you t' own 'em, though begotten  
 By French valets, or Irish footmen.  
 Nor can the rigoroufett course  
 Prevail, unless to make us worse;  
 335 Who still, the harsher we are us'd,  
 Are further off from being reduc'd;  
 And scorn t' abate, for any ills,  
 The least punctilios of our wills.  
 Force does but whet our wits t' apply  
 340 Arts, born with us, for remedy;  
 Which all your politics, as yet,  
 Have ne'er been able to defeat:  
 For, when y' have try'd all sorts of ways,  
 What fools d'we make of you in plays?  
 345 While all the favours we afford,  
 Are but to girt you with a sword,  
 To fight our battles in our steads,  
 And have your brains beat out o' your heads;  
 Encounter, in despite of nature,  
 350 And fight, at once, with fire and water,  
 With pirates, rocks, and storms, and seas,

v. 331, 332. *And force you t' own 'em, though begotten—By French valets, or Irish footmen.*] See Tatler, No. 100.

v. 353, 354. *Kill one another, and cut throats,—For our good graces and best thoughts.*] Of this kind were the commands from  
 Bifalta



- Our pride and vanity t' appease ;  
 Kill one another, and cut throats,  
 For our good graces and best thoughts ;  
 355 To do your exercise for honour,  
 And have your brains beat out the sooner ;  
 Or crack'd, as learnedly, upon  
 Things that are never to be known :  
 And still appear the more industrious,  
 360 The more your projects are prepost'rous ;  
 To square the circle of the arts,  
 And run stark mad to shew your parts ;  
 Expound the oracle of laws,  
 And turn them which way we see cause ;  
 365 Be our solicitors and agents,  
 And stand for us in all engagements.  
 And these are all the mighty powers  
 You vainly boast, to cry down ours ;  
 And what in real value's wanting  
 370 Supply with vapouring and ranting,  
 Because yourselves are terrify'd,  
 And stoop to one another's pride ;  
 Believe we have as little wit  
 To be out-hector'd and submit ;  
 375 By your example, lose that right  
 In treaties, which we gain'd in fight ;

Bisalta and Pippea to their lovers Favorinus and Hortensius. See Dr. Bailey's Romance, written in Newgate, and published 1650, in folio, with this title, *Herba Parietis*, or the Wall-Flower, p. 124, &c.

And, terrify'd into an awe,  
Pass on ourselves a Salic law :

v. 378. *Pass on ourselves a Salic law*] Pharamond, the first King of France, died about the year 428. An ancient chronicle gives him the credit of settling the Salic law by four lords, and says, they laboured in it for three mallees or assizes: and that it is called Salic, from the Saliens, the noblest of the French people. Mezeray's History of France, translated by Bulteel, 1683, p. 7; De Serre's History of France, by Peter Matthew, 1624, p. 5, 6; Spelmani Glossar. Lex Salica, p. 363; Moll's Geography, p. 63; Davila's History of the Civil Wars of France, book i. p. 3, 4.

Nauclerus (vid. Chronograph. vol. ii. p. 523) thinks it was called Lex Salica, from Salagustus, one of the doctors that drew it up. See Whetstone's English Mirrour, 1586, lib. ii. chap. viii. p. 137. Dr. Heylin says (Cosmography, 5th edit. p. 177) it was so called, as is pretended, because the words *Si aliqua* are so often used in it.

Others call its antiquity in question, and think it was four hundred years later than Pharamond, and made by Charles the Great, against the German women inheriting lands in their small domains between the Sala and the Elbe; and if so, it had no signification to the French. See Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 437, 438.

But, whether the claim is in Pharamond or Charles the Great, if we may credit Dr. Howel (see his Institution of General History, part. iii. p. 465), the first time that it was put in execution was after the death of Lewis X. or Lewis Hutin, the forty-sixth King of France, who died the 5th day of June 1316 (see Translation of Mezeray, p. 344, 345), and left his Queen Clementia great with child of a son called John, who died the eighth day after he was born. He left a daughter also named Joanna, begotten of Margaret, daughter of Robert Duke of Burgundy, for whom her uncle Odo, brother of this Robert, challenged this kingdom in right both of her father and brother: but Philip, surnamed the Long, brought her uncle Odo over to his interest, by marrying to him his own daughter Joanna.—At this time, and in this case, was this law first objected, almost nine whole ages after it was first enacted. Edward III. King of England, not long after this, namely, in the year 1328 (see Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 342), claimed the crown of France in right of his mother Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. surnamed Philip the Fair. See Selden's Notes upon Drayton's Polyolbion, 17th song, p. 275; Stowe's Chronicle, by Howes, p. 691; Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe, 6th edit. p. 113.

“ It

Or, as some nations use, give place,  
 380 And truckle to your mighty race,

“ It was not so when Edward prov'd his cause,  
 By a sword stronger than the Salic laws,  
 Though fetch'd from Pharamond, when the French did fight  
 With women's hearts against the women's right.”

A Poem on the Civil War, by Mr. Abr. Cowley, p. 3.

Henry V. was advised by Archbishop Chicheley to lay claim to his right in that kingdom, which descended to him from King Edward III. See Echard's History of England, vol. i. p. 437, 448; Shakespeare's King Henry V. vol. iv. p. 9, 10. Montaigne observes (Essays, vol. ii. chap. viii. p. 103), that this law was never seen by any one.

See more, Brady's Complete History of England, p. 60; Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe, p. 118, 119; Critical Essays on Nobility, 1720, p. 478; and the tracts in French upon this subject, Droit Public du France, No. 9244, 45, 46, 47, 48; Catalog. Bibliothec. Harleian. vol. ii. p. 557.

The Lyfians (according to Herodotus, Clio, p. 79, edit. Hen. Stephan. 1592) had a custom peculiar to themselves, and the reverse of this. For, amongst them, the relation by the mother's side was esteemed more honourable than that by the father; and, for that reason, the children took the mother's name.

v. 379, 380. *Or, as some nations use, give place,—And truckle to your mighty race.*] The Spanish ladies do so. See Lady's Travels into Spain, part iii. letter 12, p. 230. But he alludes probably to the Muscovite women, who are far more obsequious in this respect than they should be. For Mr. Purchase observes (Pilgrims, part. iii. lib. ii. chap. i. § iii p. 230), “ That, if there the woman is not beaten once a week, she will not be good; and therefore they look for it weekly: and the women say, if their husbands did not beat them, they should not love them.”

“ Est Moscoviæ quidam Alemannus, faber ferrarius, cognomen-  
 to Jordanus, qui duxerat uxorem Rhutenam; ea cum apud mari-  
 tum aliquandiu esset, hunc ex occasione quodam amice sic allo-  
 quitur: Cur me conjux charissime non amas? Respondet maritus,  
 ego vero te vehementer amo: quærebat igitur maritus qualia signa  
 vellet? Cui uxor, nunquam, ait. me verberasti.” Rer. Moscoviticar.  
 Comment. Sigismundi, &c. 1600, Ratio contrahendi Matrimonium,  
 p. 35.

We see, after all (says Mr. Byron), that the Widow is too cunning to be intrapped, either by the threats or intreaties in the Knight's letter. She gives him no hopes of a peaceable compliance with his demands, nor any handle for a forced one, either  
 in

Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,  
As if they were the better women.

in law or equity. Her satire is just, and so appositely levelled at the most sensible part of his passion, that all his pretensions to it are ridiculed and overthrown. All his hypocritical schemes and pretences being thus disappointed, we may conjecture that it wrought in his stubborn mind a conviction that they were vain, empty, and unavailable; and, accordingly, we find that he now puts an end to a three years fruitless amour, for we hear nothing of him afterwards.





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